

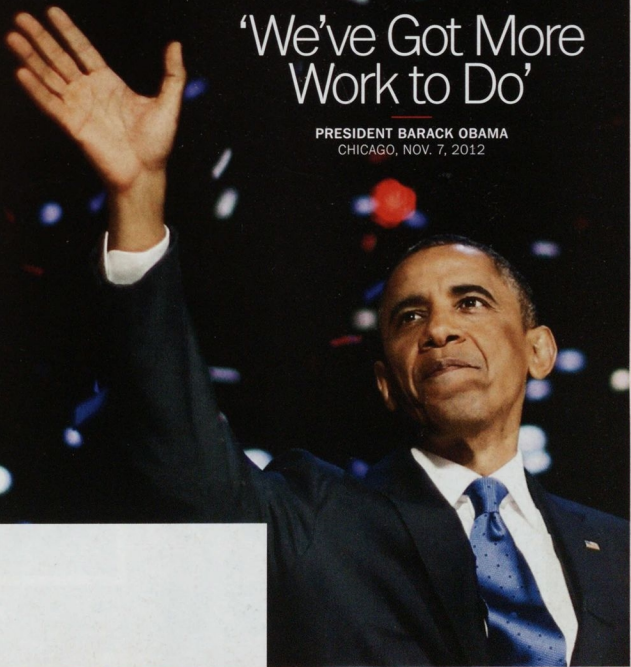
COMMEMORATIVE ELECTION SPECIAL

# TIME

'We've Got More  
Work to Do'

PRESIDENT BARACK OBAMA

CHICAGO, NOV. 7, 2012



# GIORGIO ARMANI



ACQUA DI  
**GIÒ**  
GIORGIO ARMANI

POUR HOMME



A photograph of Barack Obama smiling and looking upwards, surrounded by a shower of red, white, and blue confetti. He is wearing a dark suit, a white shirt, and a blue tie. The background is dark, making the confetti stand out.

TIME

VOL. 180, NO. 21 | 2012

2012

# Election Special

Part 1 The Election in Brief 8 | Part 2 How He Did It 42  
Part 3 The Campaign in 100 Objects 68 | Part 4 What Comes Next 110

# TIME

One of more than 100,000 balloons dropped from the ceiling at the Republican National Convention

## 4 Editor's Desk 6 Inbox

1

### 8 LightBox

### 15 Verbatim

### 16 The White House Breaking down Obama's victory

### 18 The Senate The Democratic majority

### 20 The House of Representatives The GOP keeps the reins

### 22 The Money Spent From debate outfits to TV ads to field offices

### 24 10 Questions Presidential biographer Edmund Morris

### 27 Mark Halperin The candidates' right and wrong moves

### 30 The Campaign Gaffe-O-Meter Eighteen months of missteps

### 32 The Politics of Climate Change By Michael Grunwald

### Commentary

### 35 Rana Foroohar How to grow the economy

### 36 Fareed Zakaria The campaigns' competing visions

### 39 Joe Klein The new American majority

2

### 42 How Obama Did It By David Von Drehle

### 56 Triumph of the Data Miners By Michael Scherer

### 63 The Debate That Mattered By James Poniewozik

3

### 68 The Campaign in 100 Objects Photos by Grant Cornett

4

### 110 The GOP's Next Crisis By Michael Grunwald

### 118 The Class of 2016: A Portfolio Photos by Marco Grob

### 132 The Awesome Column Joel Stein on voting with the 1%



ON THE COVER: Photograph by Jason Reed—Reuters

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# Editor's Desk



## The Unfinished Work That Lies Ahead



THE HEADLINE "NOW FOR the Hard Part" is one of the great clichés in journalism. But there's a reason it is so familiar: it's very useful, and in this case it does describe what lies ahead for President Obama. Not that the campaign wasn't extremely hard for both candidates, but what comes next—the fiscal cliff, a sluggish economy, a GOP rethinking itself—might make the President look back fondly on all those rallies in Ohio and the barrage of negative ads. But this is the job we elected him to do, and no one knows that better than Obama.

This special election double issue, presided over by executive editors Michael Duffy and Radhika Jones, looks back and looks ahead. And it is not just for the half of America that voted for Barack Obama. Our issue is a testament to a hard-fought campaign but also to the great American civic ritual of voting, what historian Teddy White called the mystery of democracy. The hard part for Obama is that he must reach out to those who did not support him throughout the country and to those who opposed him in Washington.

That is something both Mitt Romney and the President acknowledged on election night, and we should all hope what they said was more than postelection rhetoric.

The cover story was written by David Von Drehle, and it helps explain how Obama won and what he faces now. David looks at the defining moments of the race and what they tell us about the battlefield going forward. White House correspondent Michael Scherer cracks the code on the Obama campaign's most closely guarded secrets: how it invested heavily in data mining both to raise \$1 billion and to win the swing states. In the final days of the campaign, Michael was in the backrooms of Chicago talking to the number crunchers who found votes and dollars in places where no one else had thought to look. The photography accompanying these pieces was orchestrated by deputy photo editor Paul Moakley, who has overseen our campaign photography for the past year.

The centerpiece of this issue is "A History of the Campaign in 100 Objects," in which we explore the long narrative of 2012 through the things that became symbols and talismans of the race. You'll see everything from Rick Perry's cowboy boots to the fake teeth worn by Jason Sudeikis to portray Joe Biden on *Saturday*

**Writing on the wall** Pages in progress from our special election issue

*Night Live.* Many thanks go to photo assistant Erica Campbell and writer-reporters Katy Steinmetz and Elizabeth Dias, who doggedly pursued every last object and the stories behind them.

"Objects" is followed by a beautiful portfolio of images of the established and rising stars in both parties. All the portraits—from Marco Rubio to Condo-leezza Rice—were shot by the remarkable Marco Grob.

By now you might have already seen our special tablet-only election edition, featuring voting results, campaign photos and live Twitter updates from our political team. That was put together by senior editor Tim Morrison and tablet art director Tom Miller. This commemorative issue is also available for download as usual. That's the easy part.

*Pick*

Richard Stengel, MANAGING EDITOR



## Let's not stop at nine.

American students rank 25th in the world in math and 17th in science. But there is reason for hope. High schools in nine states are taking part in the National Math and Science Initiative's Advanced Placement<sup>®</sup> program. In the past four years, participating schools increased the number of qualifying test scores in math and science by 160%. Imagine the impact if all 50 states join the program. Let's support math and science education. Let's solve this.<sup>SM</sup>

[exxonmobil.com/letsolvethis](http://exxonmobil.com/letsolvethis)

**ExxonMobil**

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MAIL

**Hurricane Warnings**

Re Bryan Walsh's "Outsmarting the Surge" [Nov. 12]: I agree that we need to do more to prepare for future Sandys. But don't blame man-made global warming for these storms. Yes, there has been some global warming and the resultant increase in sea levels. However, many of those studying global warming find that the portion related to humans is so small it can't be identified in the data scatter. I also feel that the folks who want to live on the seashore should not rely on people like me in Colorado to subsidize them. We have our own problems.

Garin VanDeMark, FORT COLLINS, COLO.

No politicians want utility rates raised on their watch, and that is why innovation doesn't happen fast enough to move the needle. When utilities want to install smart meters to help them manage outage restoration—in addition to providing tons of benefits to customers—regulators balk at the costs and the public gets angry because the radio-frequency energy coming out of each meter is like 1/10,000 of that from a 20-second cell-phone call.

thefoneybadger, ON TIME.COM

**Choosing Between Candidates**

I was offended by your assumption that I vote solely on the basis of self-interest ["Executive Decision," Nov. 12]. My vote is based on concern about the future of a nation whose inadequately educated people and decaying infrastructure will not be competitive in the global economy.

Martin Bensky, RICHLAND, WASH.

**Best Inventions**

The Civilization Starter Kit has some great ideas not just for postapocalypse but also for small-scale farming and self-sufficiency ["The 25 Best Inventions of the Year," Nov. 12]. The simplicity of the modular unit's designs and their effectiveness at a wide and necessary range of tasks are remarkable. I hope the concept can be realized practically.

GaryMcCray, ON TIME.COM

SOCIAL MEDIA

**Tweet the Vote**

Across the U.S., in schools, libraries and firehouses, Americans voted, a process presidential historian Theodore White once called "unpredictable—invisible." But the subsequent rise of social networks (and endless polling) has made it a little more visible. Hundreds of voters shared their Election Day experiences on TIME's Twitter feed:

**The joys of rural voting: in and out in six minutes.**

@BOOK\_HOARDER

**Took 23 yrs to get citizenship; got it in May in time for CA Primary; worked hard & paid taxes all those yrs; it was time to act.**

@SAPIENT

**As I vote, I think about my relatives in Iran, where voting in free & fair elections is still an impossible dream.**

@ARASHSHIRAZI

**My daughter came home from Texas A&M University to early vote. A proud moment for us both!**

@MCLARK79

**An hour and 45 minutes later ... my civic duty is complete!**

@KELLYMEYERHOFER

**I'm voting today, not because my vote matters, but to uphold my right to complain about whoever gets elected.**

@RTLESTER

**The longest line I've ever seen at my Maryland polling place. It's nice to see.**

@TRISHAPAINÉ

**Romney won in 2nd grade today. We also voted for class president!**

#futurevotersofamerica

@IG04BAMA



WRITE TO US

Send an e-mail: [letters@time.com](mailto:letters@time.com). Please do not send attachments

Send a letter: **TIME Magazine Letters, Time & Life Building, New York, NY 10020.** Letters should include the writer's full name, address and home telephone and may be edited for purposes of clarity and space

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# RE-REDEFINING THE MIDSIZE SEDAN.

— "Highest Ranked Vehicle Appeal Among Midsize Cars in a Tie" —

by J.D. Power and Associates\*

The Optima redefined an entire category, and now the Optima Limited is elevating the bar even further. It comes equipped with luxurious features like 18" chrome wheels, a 274-horsepower GDI Turbo engine, front and rear red brake calipers, premium Nappa leather-trimmed seats, LED accent lights and an electronic parking brake. Plus, J.D. Power and Associates<sup>1</sup> ranked the Optima the most appealing midsize car. The new Optima Limited — it's the midsize sedan that will make you rethink the midsize sedan. Go to [kia.com](http://kia.com) to learn more.



**OPTIMA**

GDI • TURBO • LIMITED • HYBRID



\*The Kia Optima received the highest numerical score among midsize cars in a tie in the proprietary J.D. Power and Associates 2012 Automotive Performance, Execution and Layout Study.™ Study based on responses from 74,759 new-vehicle owners, measuring 255 models and measures opinions after 90 days of ownership. Proprietary study results are based on experiences and perceptions of owners surveyed in February-May 2012. Your experiences may vary. Visit [jdpower.com/Kia](http://jdpower.com/Kia). Optima Hybrid quantities are limited and available only at hybrid-authorized Kia dealers. Check with your local Kia dealer. Optima SX Limited shown.



A large crowd of people is gathered at night, with a massive amount of red, white, and blue confetti falling from above, creating a dense, colorful rain. In the lower right, a group of people stands on a stage near a podium. In the lower left, a large American flag is partially visible.

**Part 1:**

# **The Election In Brief**





**One term down, one to go**  
*"I return to the White House  
more determined and more  
inspired than ever," Obama  
told supporters in Chicago  
shortly after his re-election*

Photograph by Saul Loeb—AFP/Getty Images





**A family affair**

*"I'm so proud of you guys," President Obama told daughters Malia (right), 14, and Sasha, 11, who made a rare public appearance on election night*

**Photograph by Kevin Lamarque—Reuters**





**His final bow**

*"The election is over, but our principles endure," Mitt Romney told supporters during his Boston concession speech, warning against "partisan bickering and political posturing"*

**Photograph by Christopher Morris—VII for TIME**

FOR MORE OF  
ROMNEY'S LAST DAYS  
ON THE ROAD, GO TO  
[time.com/morrisphotos](http://time.com/morrisphotos)



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*All views would be appreciated.*



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# Verbatim

**'Paul and I have left everything on the field. We have given our all to this campaign. I so wish that I had been able to fulfill your hopes.'**

**1. MITT ROMNEY**, addressing supporters in Boston after conceding the presidential race to Barack Obama

**'I didn't run to make history.'**

**2. TAMMY BALDWIN**, Democratic Senator-elect from Wisconsin, after beating Republican Tommy Thompson to become the first openly gay U.S. Senator

**'He may have won the battle but lost the war ... Second terms are difficult.'**

**3. KARL ROVE**, former top aide to George W. Bush, who argued against Obama's win on Fox News even after in-house analysts confirmed it

**'Just because you're displaced doesn't mean you should be disenfranchised.'**

**4. ANDREW CUOMO**, governor of New York, who allowed voters uprooted by Hurricane Sandy to cast provisional ballots anywhere in the state

**'Democracy in a nation of 300 million can be noisy and messy and complicated ... That won't change tonight, and it shouldn't.'**

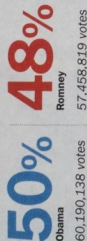
**5. BARACK OBAMA**, championing American freedoms at his victory rally in Chicago



# The White House

Obama's path to victory

## THE POPULAR VOTE



## FIVE CRITICAL COUNTIES



## ELECTORAL COLLEGE

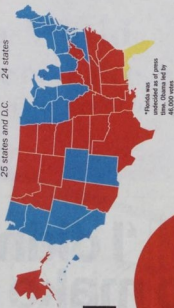
Obama

**303**  
Electoral votes

## THE BIG PICTURE

Obama  
25 states and D.C.

Romney  
24 states



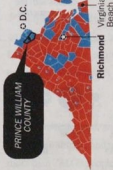
Romney

**206**  
Electoral votes

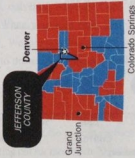
270 needed to win



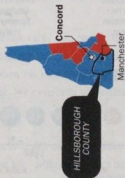




**PRINCE WILLIAM COUNTY, VA.**  
**OBAMA 57% / ROMNEY 42%**  
 This Washington suburb is a 21st century mixture of government commuters, affluent conservatives, Latino immigrants and middle-class families, making it the perfect Old Dominion bellwether. When it swings, so does the state.



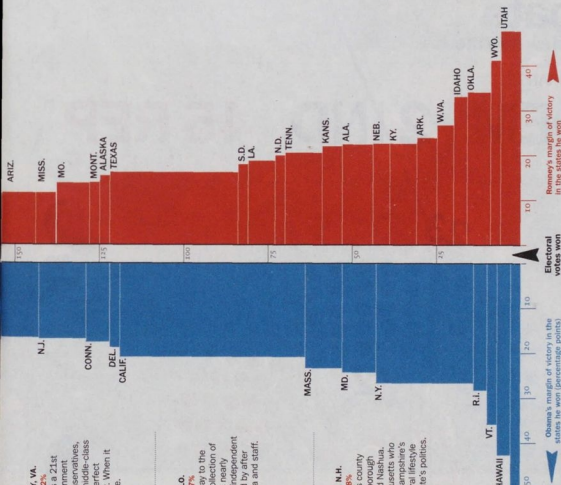
**JEFFERSON COUNTY, CO.**  
**OBAMA 51% / ROMNEY 47%**  
 Dubbing itself the Gateway to the Rocky Mountains, this collection of Denver suburbs includes nearly 30 parks and countless independent business owners, known for investing heavily in media and staff.



**HILLSBOROUGH COUNTY, N.H.**  
 Easily the most populous county in New Hampshire, Hillsborough includes Manchester and Nashua. Refugees from Massachusetts who were attracted by New Hampshire's lower taxes and more rural lifestyle increasingly drive the state's politics.

## WHO VOTED HOW

Obama's victory comes despite exit polls showing weaker support among key groups



Romney's margin of victory in the states he won

Obama's margin of victory in the states he won (percentage points)

## MAJORITY RULE

Winning margin of victory over all voters.  
 Democrat or Republican



1 This will change when Florida is decided

# The Senate

After 33 races, a few new faces

MUCH FURY, LITTLE CHANGE

53 DEM 2 IND 45 REP



**INDIANA**  
Democrat **Joe Donnelly** was doubly lucky: first a Tea Party opponent toppled six-term centrist **Dick Lugar** in the GOP primary, then, two weeks before the election, Tea Partier **Richard Mourdock** said children conceived out of rape were "something God intended to happen."



**MISSOURI**  
Democrat **Claire McCaskill**'s re-election chances were fading until her GOP opponent, Representative **Todd Akin**, said women have natural ways of preventing pregnancy resulting from rape. The party abandoned him; so did voters.



**MASSACHUSETTS**  
**Elizabeth Warren** rode her anti-billionaire antagonism to a win as Republican **Scott Brown** struggled in a solidly Democratic state to convince voters he was moderate enough to retain **Teddy Kennedy**'s old seat.



**WISCONSIN**  
Voters elected the first openly gay Senator in U.S. history. Democratic Representative **Tammy Baldwin** beat former Wisconsin governor and George W. Bush Cabinet member **Tommy Thompson** by a surprising margin, with 52% of the vote.

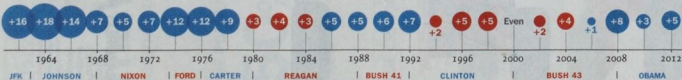


**TEXAS**  
Tea Party-nominated, Harvard-educated former Texas solicitor general **Ted Cruz** is on a meteoric rise. The new Lone Star Senator arrives in Washington just as 7 out of 10 Hispanics voted for Obama in the presidential contest.



**MAINE**  
Republicans were taken back when three-term incumbent **Olympia Snowe** quit in disgust earlier this year, essentially handing the seat to popular independent candidate **Angus King**, who will likely caucus with the Democrats.

## LOOKING BACK, WHO HELD THE MAJORITY?






COMFORT IN NUMBERS SUPPORT IN NUMBERS CONNECTION IN NUMBERS KNOWLEDGE IN NUMBERS HEALTH IN NUMBERS™

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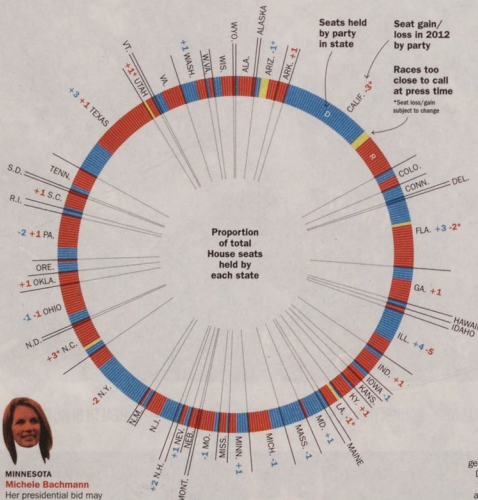
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 **UnitedHealthcare®**

## Republicans keep the upper hand in the lower chamber

## CONTINENTAL DIVIDE



Her presidential bid may have been short-lived, but Bachmann survived a tough redistricting fight and won a fourth House term.



**Alan Grayson**  
Firebrand  
Democrat  
Grayson, ousted  
from his 8th  
District seat in  
2010, got a  
second chance  
with the newly  
created  
Democratic-  
leaning 9th  
District. He  
steamrolled his  
GOP opponent



**Ben Chandler**  
Part of a dwindling generation of Southern Democrats, Chandler was elected in 2004 and barely survived in 2010. He didn't this time; he drowned in the anti-Obama mood in his state

## FAMILIAR?



## RED SHIFT: THE MOVE TOWARD A GOP MAJORITY



Numbers reflect first working day of Congress and include independents who caucused with a major party. The 2012 number represents race results at press time



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\*Based on average annual total returns for the 1-, 5-, and 10-year periods ended 9/30/12: S&P 500 1-year: **30.20%**, 5-year: **1.05%**, 10-year: **8.01%**; Blue Chip Growth Fund 1-year: **31.58%**, 5-year: **2.57%**, 10-year: **8.76%**; Capital Appreciation Fund 1-year: **23.88%**, 5-year: **4.81%**, 10-year: **9.71%**; and Growth Stock Fund 1-year: **32.20%**, 5-year: **2.50%**, 10-year: **9.23%**. As of 12/31/11, the funds' expense ratios were **0.77%** (Blue Chip Growth Fund), **0.73%** (Capital Appreciation Fund), and **0.70%** (Growth Stock Fund).

**Current performance may be higher or lower than the quoted past performance, which cannot guarantee future results. Share price, principal value, and return will vary, and you may have a gain or loss when you sell your shares. To obtain the most recent month-end performance, please call 1.888.744.5403 or go to [troweprice.com](http://troweprice.com).**

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The funds' return figures include changes in principal value, reinvested dividends, and capital gain distributions. It is not possible to invest directly in an index.

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# The Numbers

What fueled the priciest election in U.S. history

**\$932,13,388**

Amount supporters spent on Obama's campaign

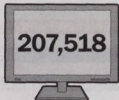
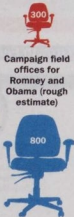
**\$1,28,213,064**

Amount supporters spent on Romney's campaign

Congressional and presidential candidates (and their supporters) spent a record

**\$6 BILLION**

on the 2012 election, up 13% from 2008. That's well above the annual marketing budgets of many major U.S. companies:

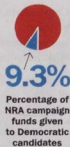
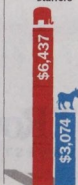


Total presidential-campaign spots that ran in Ohio, more than in any other state



Amount spent on presidential-campaign ads in Florida, more than in any other state

Median monthly salary of campaign staffers

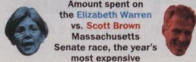


**\$1,690**  
Cost of Ann Romney's Oscar de la Renta town-hall-debate dress

**\$1,795**  
Cost of Michelle Obama's Michael Kors town-hall-debate dress

**\$68 MILLION**

Amount spent on the Elizabeth Warren vs. Scott Brown Massachusetts Senate race, the year's most expensive



**\$40K**

Per-plate charge the Obama campaign levied to attend a fundraiser with Beyoncé and Jay-Z

**\$1,092,906**

Amount pledged by University of California-affiliated supporters (Obama's top donors)

**\$994,139**

Amount pledged by Goldman Sachs-affiliated supporters (Romney's top donors)

Average amount GOP candidates spent per vote during the run-up to the Iowa caucuses—more than in any other state

**\$130**



# Fill in the blanks about your COPD

Discuss this with your doctor. The more you tell your doctor about your COPD, the more he or she can help. Chronic Obstructive Pulmonary Disease includes chronic bronchitis and emphysema.



Since your last doctor's visit, have you... (check all that apply)

- ☐ had an increase in coughing?
- ☐ had an increase in mucus/phlegm or noticed a change in its color?
- ☐ had shortness of breath or difficulty breathing?
- ☐ had a flare-up or worsening of the COPD symptoms listed above, more than typical day-to-day variations?
- ☐ used an antibiotic or oral steroid (such as prednisone)? (# of times: \_\_\_\_\_)
- ☐ had a severe cold or flu?
- ☐ visited an ER, hospital, or urgent care?  
(specify reason: \_\_\_\_\_)
- ☐ discussed your breathing problems with another doctor?
- ☐ used a fast-acting/rescue inhaler more than usual?  
(# times/week: \_\_\_\_\_)
- ☐ missed activities or limited them due to breathing difficulties?  
(specify activities: \_\_\_\_\_)

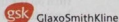
List all COPD medications you are taking:

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- ☐ I'm interested in finding out what more I can do for my COPD.



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Learn more about COPD at [copd.com](http://copd.com)

# 10 Questions

Campaign wisdom from presidential biographer **Edmund Morris**

**You've written biographies of Theodore Roosevelt and Ronald Reagan. Who in this campaign has reminded you more of Roosevelt?**  
Nobody.

**Not even Paul Ryan, with his physical vigor?**  
No. T.R. was unique. He was a writer and a natural historian and a cosmopolitan. Our politicians tend to be professionals, monochromatic people who are of no particular interest outside of politics.

**Anyone remind you of Reagan?**  
To a certain extent, Romney reminded me of Reagan. He projected an image of niceness but behind it a feeling of formidable personal force. The difference, though, is that with Reagan it was crystal clear what his political beliefs were.

**There's a chapter in your new book, *This Living Hand*, about how biographies differ from history; biographies need narrative as much as facts. Is this true of campaigns too?**  
Unfortunately the stories we're presented, embodied by presidential candidates, are often fictional. In Gore vs. Bush, what we were doing was voting for a pair of novels. Each was fictional and not very compelling.

**Could Roosevelt still be elected?**  
I can't see him doing well in a campaign today, because he was in person so explosive with his snapping teeth and his strange, high, harsh voice

and his punchy gestures. He would fracture every TV screen in the country.

**Who'd be a better biography subject, Obama or Romney?**  
I don't find either of them complex enough to want to write

a biography about them, but I guess President Obama would, because he's so articulate and his background is interesting.

**Virginia Woolf said fiction will always outlive biography. Was she right?**

No. I think fiction now is becoming less and less interesting and important. Many of the things fiction used to do are done better on HBO or in other media.

**If you were writing your controversial 1999 Reagan biography, *Dutch*, today, would you still use the technique of imagining yourself as a character in his life?**  
I think that technique would be less controversial now, because since *Dutch* came out, a lot of very imaginative biographies and nonfiction books have been published using techniques deriving from fiction but still maintaining scholarly honesty.

**There's talk of a movie being made based on your first book, *The Rise of Theodore Roosevelt*. Do you have any say in who plays T.R.?**  
Well, authors, as you may know, are the most despised species in Hollywood. I'm sure I won't be consulted.

**You've also written a biography of Beethoven. Is it true the composer saved your life?**  
We were listening to a symphony, my father and I, in the dark one night in Nairobi. If I'd been less poleaxed by the music, I'd have gone over to turn on the light, and I would have stepped barefoot on a cobra that had snuck in. But fortunately my father put on the light and we saw the snake.



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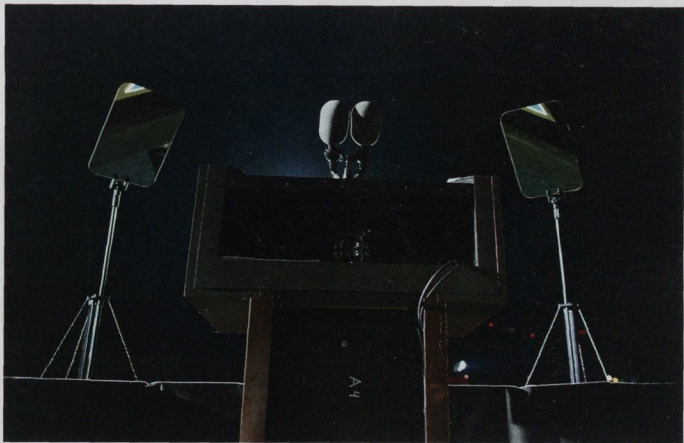


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**Four more years** In his victory speech, President Obama laid out a second-term agenda for a noisy, messy and complicated country

# Mark Halperin

## All the right moves ... and some wrong ones

### Obama's Smart Moves Defining Romney early

Well before the former Massachusetts governor won the GOP nomination, White House officials assumed they would face him in the general election and moved aggressively to define him as an out-of-touch, vacillating plutocrat. Throughout 2011 and the first half of 2012, as Mitt Romney's Republican competitors were lining up to take down the front runner from Massachusetts, the Obama campaign was equally busy driving up Romney's unfavorable ratings with voters in key states. Casting Romney and his work at Bain Capital as

an orgy of outsourcing and layoffs struck a chord in the anti-Wall Street, populist terrain of Ohio and the upper Midwest. And by keeping its opponent front and center in the news, the incumbent's team quietly transformed an election that might have been a referendum on President Obama's record into a choice between two candidates.

### Careful targeting

With the same discipline that characterized their 2008 bid, Obama campaign officials recognized months ago that it had to concentrate all its energies on a handful of swing states—and within those states, the

precise demographic slices that could get the President above 50%. In Western, Eastern and Southern states, that meant pursuing Hispanics, African Americans and young and female voters. In the critical Midwestern battlegrounds, special efforts were made to appeal to working-class whites on economic issues.

## Obama's Big Errors What agenda?

Focus groups assembled by the parties and private organizations found voters completely unable to divine what Obama would do with four more years. And polls late in the campaign suggested Americans overwhelmingly wanted the President to take things in a different direction if re-elected. Yet in his Charlotte convention speech, the debates and his closing arguments, he relied far more on gauzy generalities about champions and character, plus vague references to college tuition costs and manufacturing expansion—mixed with relentless attacks on Romney and George W. Bush—than on any fresh specifics about the future.

## Tanking in Denver

If Obama had been even passably good in his first televised debate with Romney, he likely would have put the election away. Instead he turned in a performance that was lethargic, distracted, ungracious and irritable. The President assumed his rival would not be too formidable on the stage, and Obama aides let the boss get away with scaling back debate-preparation sessions in favor of White House duties.



**Into the sunset** The end of Romney's campaign leaves his party searching for a message—and better tactics

## Romney's Smart Moves Keeping his eye on the economy

Despite getting sidetracked by secondary issues at times, Romney and his team moved into contention by talking directly to voters in speeches and advertisements about jobs, health care, the debt and deficits. Romney framed the race by highlighting his record as a data-driven turnaround artist who best understood how to reverse the U.S.'s sluggish economic growth and high unemployment rate. And Romney closed strong, starting with the Great Debate, giving the best speeches of his career, avoiding major gaffes, enjoying a surge in the polls and unveiling a potent message: Why should the country expect anything to be different with four more years of the same President and the same policies?

## Romney's Big Errors Getting on the wrong side of the auto bailout

Back on Nov. 18, 2008, Romney wrote an opinion article for the *New York Times* that carried the headline LET DETROIT GO BANKRUPT. His campaign team argued that the newspaper, not Romney, came up with the headline, but that was mostly beside the point. The White House repeatedly made its opponent pay a price for opposing the government rescue of the most iconic U.S. industry, keeping Romney from effectively competing in Michigan (where his father had been a governor and an auto executive), crippling his Ohio campaign by neutralizing all of Romney's economic arguments with that one trump card and making things more difficult in Wisconsin and Iowa—four states he might have otherwise captured.

## Losing too many news cycles

In a general election that lasted five months, Romney and his advisers simply made too many unforced errors. Among them: his secret tax returns; his botched overseas trip and London Olympics insults; his mysterious foreign investments and bank accounts; an unfocused, sterile Tampa convention; his hasty, ill-considered initial reaction to the deaths of Americans in Benghazi, Libya; and an utter failure to stifle attacks on his record at Bain Capital. Romney's advisers seemed to believe that the overriding narrative about the economy would more than neutralize the impact of these trouble spots, but they were wrong. The Democrats saw an opportunity and made Romney pay a heavy price.



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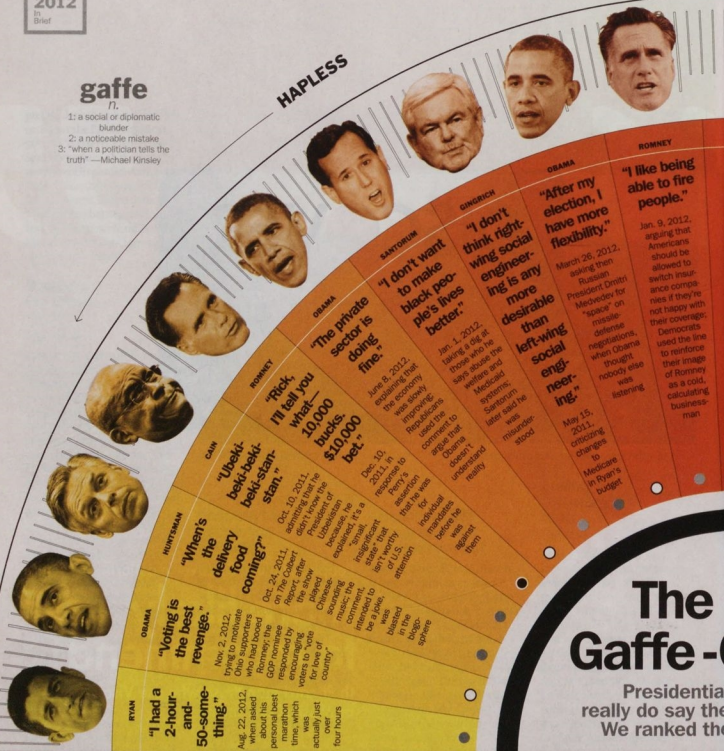
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## gaffe

- n.*  
1: a social or diplomatic blunder  
2: a noticeable mistake  
3: "when a politician tells the truth" —Michael Kinsley

## HAPLESS



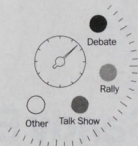
# The Gaffe-

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## The Ultimate Oopses



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Michael Dukakis gave a bloodless answer when asked if he'd support the execution of his wife's hypothetical rapist and murderer



Bill Clinton admitted he experimented with marijuana, but "I didn't like it and didn't inhale"

John Kerry explained that he voted for \$57 billion in appropriations for the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan "before I voted against it"



George W. Bush commended FEMA's director for doing "a heckuva job" after Hurricane Katrina





# Sandy Ends the Silence

Even if politicians ignore climate change, the rest of us can't

By Michael Grunwald

THERE ARE STILL A FEW Lance Armstrong deniers who don't accept the overwhelming evidence that he used performance-enhancing drugs. And even rational people can't say for sure that doping was the reason he won any particular Tour de France; it's at least possible that he could have won some of those races clean. But it's no longer controversial to suggest that performance-enhancing drugs had something to do with his victories. They do, after all, enhance performance.

There ought to be a similar consensus that global warming had something to do with Hurricane Sandy. The science of climate change is even more overwhelming than the case against Armstrong, and while the links to extreme weather are more complex, warmer seas and warmer air do produce nastier storms. To paraphrase Grist ecologist David Roberts, aging may not be the precise cause of your aching knee, but that kind of thing happens when you age. Hurricane Sandy—like this year's historic heat waves, droughts and wildfires in the U.S., not to mention an unprecedented ice melt in the Arctic—is the kind of thing that happens when you broil the planet with fossil fuels.

## Before New York City Mayor

Michael Bloomberg cited the issue in his post-Sandy endorsement of President Obama, most of the political

discussion about climate was about the lack of political discussion about climate. Mitt Romney never mentioned it except to mock Obama's pledge to slow the rise of the oceans, and Obama rarely mentioned it except to mock Romney's antiscientific mockery. For the first time since 1984, the topic didn't come up during a presidential debate; moderator Candy Crowley later said she considered a question for "you climate-change people" but ditched it because "we knew that the economy was still the main thing."

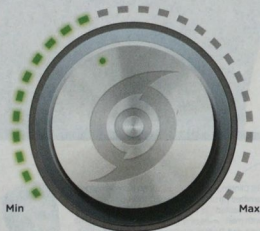
Sandy was a blunt reminder that the technical term for people affected by climate change is *people*. It's an environmental issue, a security issue and, yes, an economic

issue, as Sandy-stranded urbanites and drought-stricken farmers have learned the hard way. The oceans are expected to rise at least another foot (30 cm) by 2100 and will rise much more if the world can't make a quick transition from fossil fuels. That has all kinds of disastrous implications for coastal communities and food supplies and wildlife and human life. But as Al Gore says, if denial ain't just a river in Egypt, despair ain't just a tire in the trunk. Activists have been so busy warning about climate science and griping about climate silence that they've ignored the tremendous climate progress the U.S. has made under Obama. His strict new fuel-efficiency rules for cars and trucks should reduce carbon

emissions by 6 billion metric tons by 2025, which would be like wiping out an entire year's worth of emissions. His stimulus bill poured an astonishing \$90 billion into clean energy, doubling wind power, increasing solar power 1,000%, greening factories and government buildings and more than 1 million homes and jump-starting a smart grid and electric vehicles and blue-sky research into the planet-saving technologies of tomorrow. U.S. emissions are now falling even though the economy is growing.

**The U.S. still needs some** kind of price on carbon to make dirty energy pay for its pollution. It needs to eliminate archaic subsidies for fossil fuels. It needs to promote less exurban sprawl and long-haul trucking and more telecommuting, carpooling and trains. And it needs the Republican Party to return to its relative sanity of 2008, when its presidential candidate (and his Alaskan running mate) supported a cap-and-trade regime to slash emissions.

But the U.S. has quietly begun its transition to a low-carbon economy. Sandy could be the moment that accelerated the transition, the moment that America dropped its Lance Armstrong attitude toward the climate. The alternate future looks like Sandy on steroids.



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## LET'S KEEP THE LIGHTS ON WHEN SHE'S YOUR AGE.

What sort of world will this little girl grow up in? Many experts agree that it will be a considerably more energy-hungry one. There are already seven billion people on our planet. And the forecast is that there will be around two billion more by 2050. So if we're going to keep the lights on for her, we will need to look at every possible energy source. At Shell we're exploring a broad mix of energies. We're making our fuels and lubricants more advanced and more efficient than before. With our partner in Brazil, we're also producing ethanol, a biofuel made from renewable sugar cane. And we're delivering natural gas to more countries than any other energy company. When used to generate electricity, natural gas emits around half the CO<sub>2</sub> of coal. Let's broaden the world's energy mix.



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# Rana Foroohar

## The Risks of Reviving A Revived Economy

THE 2% ECONOMY—WHAT CAUSED THIS slow-growth cycle and what might cure it—was the make-or-break issue of the 2012 presidential election. It's also the most pressing issue for the President now.

Sure, getting Congress to pull back from the fiscal cliff is *Job One*. But beyond that, we're actually at a crucial economic crossroads. History shows that four to five years after a financial crisis is usually when a country either moves slowly but surely into a sustained recovery or lapses back into recession. The President can't control many of the variables involved: the euro zone might dissolve, or China could have a hard landing; either situation could tank growth in the U.S. The President can, on the other hand, determine whether and how the government keeps spending to boost the recovery, who should pick up the tab and which Americans will bear the brunt of the inevitable budget cuts on the horizon.

There was plenty of talk during the campaign about the extent to which the Obama Administration's fiscal stimulus and the Fed's sustained money drops have helped or hurt the economy since 2008. Let's be clear: it's the reason we didn't go into another Great Depression.

**Ironically, the stimulus is also a reason** the recovery has been so slow and will continue to be for the next three to five years. Harvard economist Ken Rogoff, who along with his colleague Carmen Reinhart has been the best rune reader of the past few years, says that historically during financial crises, "to the extent that you act to slow the deep, sharp economic pain, you also slow the recovery." As those coldhearted Austrian-school economists would tell us, terrible pain results in quick adjustment. That's not an argument for not acting; nobody wanted bread lines or riots after Lehman Brothers fell. In fact, it's a mark of policy

success—and the ability of central bankers to buffer Darwinian economic cycles—that today's economy feels boringly sluggish rather than frightful.

Now is the moment to start making it more than that. Conservatives argue that the path to growth comes through slashing the deficit as well as red tape and taxes. That would give business money and the motivation to spend it. Businesses and consumers have gotten their balance sheets in order. The government should



too. Then companies would have the confidence to invest.

Some cite Sweden as a model. Four years after a similar financial crisis began in 1992, it started slashing public debt, erasing its entire deficit by 1998. Sweden subsequently boomed. The difference, according to the McKinsey Global Institute, which has studied several decades of sovereign debt crises, is that Sweden was already growing strongly—3.5% annually—when it started rolling back public stimulus and focusing on debt reduction. Companies and consumers were ready to pick up the slack.

That's not yet so in the U.S. Companies

facing economic uncertainty are unlikely to part with the \$2 trillion under their mattresses regardless of debt or tax rates. While unemployment has ticked down, the average annual earnings growth of U.S. workers fell to a postwar low in October. You really can't have a sustainable recovery in an economy that's 70% fueled by consumer spending when 90% of the income gains since the recovery began have accrued to 1% of the population.

### That's why I think the key to really

solving the growth puzzle is tackling inequality. It's been labeled a social issue. But there is growing reason to think of it as an economic one. International Monetary Fund research shows that countries with bigger wealth gaps tend to have shorter periods of high growth and more volatile economies. That's in part because they try to mask inequality by expanding

consumer credit, which leads to debt bubbles and financial crises. (Sound familiar?) IMF policy wonks actually believe that reducing inequality is as important as, say, free trade in terms of fostering economic growth.

There are plenty of policy choices available—none of them of the Robin Hood variety—to reduce inequality now. Tax reform, including closing of investment loopholes for the rich, would be No. 1. Experts like Rogoff believe that "vast simplification" of the code would make it not only fairer to all taxpayers but also more business-friendly; indeed, a Harvard Business School study found

that it's the convoluted nature of the tax code, not tax rates, that sends business abroad. Also, before the government exits the housing business, a bit more support for mortgage restructuring in the worst-hit areas could help housing and the recovery; there's still \$250 billion worth of foreclosures in the pipeline.

Finally, as we navigate the fiscal cliff, we should think carefully before subtracting any discretionary spending for public education. College enrollment may now be more tied to parental income than aptitude. If we want to get beyond a 2% economy, we'll have to ensure that more than just the 1% can succeed. ■





# Fareed Zakaria

## How to Rebuild Trust—And Infrastructure

OVER THE COURSE OF THIS CAMPAIGN, commentators on both sides of the political divide seemed to agree on one point: this was a campaign about nothing. Barack Obama's supporters wanted him to lay out a detailed and ambitious agenda for his second term. Mitt Romney's fans wanted to hear more about the radical restructuring of government. But in fact, by the standards of most elections, this was a campaign about something very big.

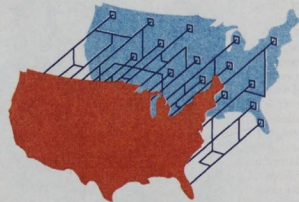
Obama and Romney presented two distinct visions of how to rebuild the American economy. Romney emphasized the need to cut taxes and spending and, in general, shrink government. Obama talked about core investments that would allow the country to compete in this century. (Both agreed, without being specific, that they would pursue their agenda while reducing the deficit.) This is not a trivial divide, and the fact that Obama won should have consequences.

**And yet it looks as if it won't, because** the partisan gridlock in Washington means that nothing gets done. A normal process of democratic legislation—each side making concessions to arrive at a compromise plan—has become impossible. Congressional Republicans, in particular, have decided that they would rather have the country be paralyzed than work with a President they have demonized.

Is there a way out? President Obama will have to try to find several—on a debt deal, immigration, energy. But perhaps the most pressing issue is also the one of greatest hope: infrastructure. Dealing with the larger challenges is important, but none of them will have an instant impact on the economy. A large push to rebuild America would. With economic growth still sluggish and unemployment in the construction industry at 11.4%—the highest of any field in

the country—an ambitious effort in this area could yield immediate results.

In the long run, you cannot have robust growth without strong infrastructure. The U.S. has historically been world class in this regard. Only a decade ago we were ranked fifth in overall infrastructure by the World Economic Forum; today we have dropped to 25th. The American Society of Civil Engineers calculates that we have a \$2 trillion backlog of repairs that must be done over the next five years to stay competitive.



Hurricane Sandy should give us a sense of urgency about these projects. Our crumbling levees, roads, subways and bridges are not just barriers to growth; they are dangers to our lives. We are simply not prepared for a world in which there will be sharp increases in hurricanes, tornadoes, droughts and perhaps even earthquakes. We could use concern about these threats to build a new and more resilient system, including most vitally a new energy and information grid, so that we are protected from nature, resilient in hardship and poised for growth.

Properly done, such a program would also save billions. Before Katrina, the New Orleans water system was losing 30% of its treated water in leaky pipes.

(Around the U.S., this percentage is about 25%.) A new system could be far more efficient and detect leaks almost instantly. In almost every area, new technologies would reduce waste in energy, water and time.

Infrastructure improvement is something many Republicans and Democrats agree on. On immigration, taxes and the budget, deals are not happening because conservatives and liberals are deeply divided. That's not true on infrastructure. Republican Senators Kay Bailey Hutchison and Lindsey Graham along with Democratic Senator Mark Warner and others have co-sponsored John Kerry's legislation to create a national infrastructure bank. It's an innovative idea for a partnership between the public and private sectors, ensuring that government funds get leveraged and projects get chosen on merit rather than for political reasons and are then executed efficiently. Many European countries use one—with superb results.

**In the first debate, Romney** made a smart and eloquent case for caution with regard to government spending. He explained that he thought any new government spending should pass this test: "Is it worth borrowing from the Chinese to pay for it?" I would argue that a national bank to rebuild America and give it a 21st century infrastructure

passes this test with flying colors. In fact, right now, people everywhere are willing to lend money to the U.S. at rates that are lower than at any point in history, so we wouldn't need any particular generosity from the Chinese.

Is there a special tactic that might help bring Republicans along? Well, in his gracious speech on Wednesday morning after his re-election, Obama noted that he hoped to talk to Romney about ways they might work together. Why not ask Romney if he would be willing to spearhead this project? It would be an act of bipartisanship in the service of a national interest—and it might just begin to change the tenor of Washington for the next four years. ■



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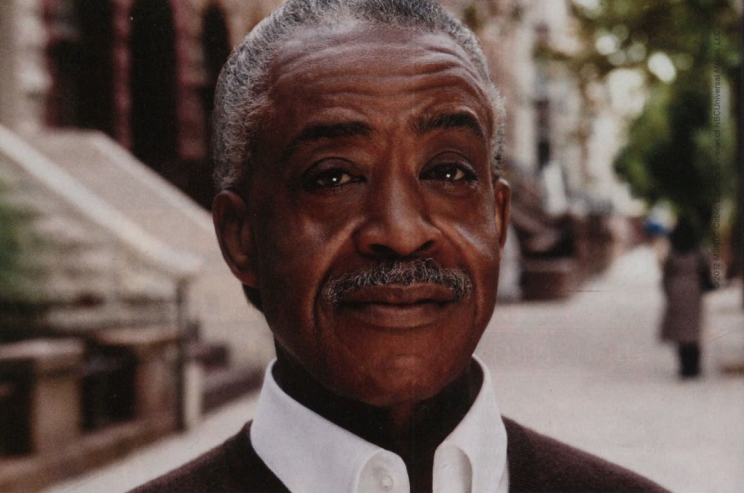
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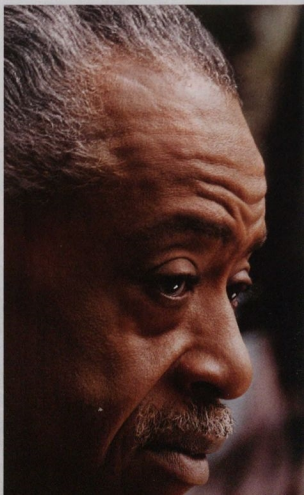
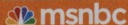
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**"THE MIDDLE CLASS  
BUILT AMERICA. IT'S  
TIME FOR AMERICA  
TO REBUILD  
THE MIDDLE CLASS."**

*-Al Sharpton*

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REV. AL SHARPTON, msnbc host

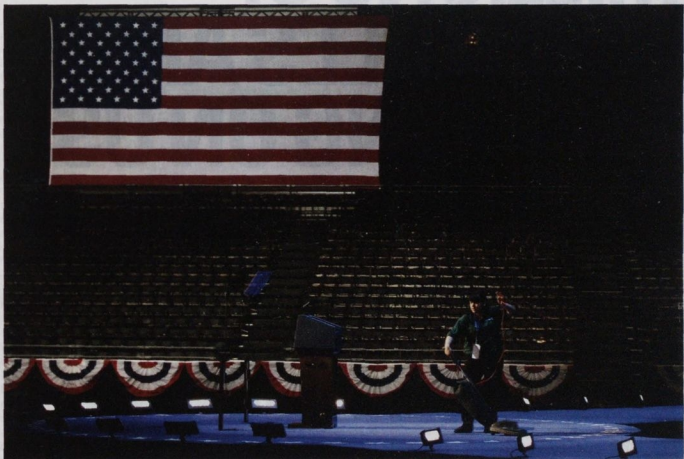




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**Clean sweep** A worker vacuums the stage ahead of President Obama's election-night party in Chicago

## Joe Klein Obama's Mandate For Moderation

WE HAVE REACHED A TURNING POINT IN American history. It is no longer possible for a rural, regional, racially monochromatic political party to win the presidency. We are now, manifestly, a different country. The South, though a more complex region than ever before, won't rise again until it resolves the issues that have marked its difference from the rest of the country since the land was colonized. President Obama, freed by victory to return to the grand rhetoric that marked his rise to power, acknowledged this

demographic earthquake in the very first sentence of his passionate acceptance speech: "The task of perfecting our union moves forward."

The line echoed two essential events in the history of the country: the Constitution's mandate to "form a more perfect union" and Abraham Lincoln's crusade to preserve that union. It marked the end of a 50-year era in American history, a time when the Civil War was fought again through the civil rights movement and a succession of Sun Belt Republicans revived

the radical individualism that has been present in the nation's character from the start. But on election night 2012, the solid South was fatally pinched as Virginia—the heart of the Confederacy—stubbornly remained blue, and Ronald Reagan's West continued its transformation into a region dominated by a rising generation of Latinos as well as the freethinkers who legalized marijuana in Colorado and continued to vehemently support liberal social policies along the West Coast. All that was left of Richard Nixon's Southern strategy was Scots-Irish Appalachia and the German-Nordic stripe of prairie states. It was American politics at its most primal.

**Barack Obama now lives in history** as a transformative figure, but it remains to be seen if he will be a successful President. If the tectonic significance of the election was clear, the short-term path toward a less imperfect politics remains

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as difficult as ever. It will, and should, be argued that the election was a mandate for moderation. The last month of Mitt Romney's campaign, when he rushed to the center and suddenly made it a race, ratified the real will of the people: a sensible centrism that runs deeper than the overcaffeinated bluster that seems to dominate the media. The election hinted that the third rail of American politics—the certain death that comes to those who question entitlement programs like Social Security and Medicare—is beginning to lose its juice. But the rail has been replaced by a rut: the immense power of special interests, left and right, to prevent compromise and of the right-wing media to sow cynicism about any form of government action.

The task of breaking that deadlock may prove more daunting than winning re-election. Obama no longer has to worry about electoral politics, but his most immediate challenge is to become a more effective politician. How does he do that? Despite the postelection recalcitrance from Republican congressional leaders, especially the sour Senate minority leader Mitch McConnell, there is shared political interest in getting the so-called fiscal cliff behind us. McConnell may be chastened by the election results, in which Tea Party candidates in Missouri and Indiana lost seats that should have been safely Republican. More important, Republicans in both the House and Senate may take a lesson from the results and begin to cluster closer to the center.

Two Republicans to watch in the coming months will be Senator Lamar Alexander and House Speaker John Boehner. Alexander, a relative moderate from Tennessee, resigned his Senate Republican leadership position this past year and joined the bipartisan forces—the Gang of Six—trying to develop a budget deal. By leaving the leadership, he may have become a leader, providing a path for some of his colleagues to move toward compromise. As for Boehner, he has a decision to make. He came very close to closing a budget deal with the President in 2011 but was daunted by his ambitious deputy, Eric Cantor, and the Tea Party caucus. Obama was daunted too, by his liberal partisans—but he doesn't have to worry about that so much

anymore. A bipartisan compromise can be had if Boehner and Obama work their way out from the middle of their parties to a bipartisan majority.

On election night, Obama said, "I look forward to sitting down with Governor Romney" to find ways "to move this country forward." He should be very serious about that. Romney's campaign may have provided the key policy path toward a budget deal. Romney suggested that taxes be cut 20% across the board, and that, of course, won't fly. But he also suggested that tax deductions and old-age entitlements be severely limited for the wealthy—and that might well prove useful, a way to maintain current tax rates while raising revenue toward a \$4 trillion deal. The President has proposed a limited version of this in the past, only to be thwarted by Republicans. We'll see what Boehner and Alexander think about it now.

But Romney may have a larger role to play, if he and Obama can come to a meeting of the minds. Faced with a bloated federal bureaucracy after World War II, Harry Truman embraced a leader of the opposition party, former President Herbert Hoover, to lead a bipartisan commission that actually reformed the government. That seems the sort of thing that might be right up Romney's alley. Some of his most effective moments during the campaign were his recitations of government waste—the 47 job-training programs run by the federal government, the sedimentary layers of outdated and intrusive regulations, the number of bureaucrats involved in acquisitions at the Pentagon. There is political peril aplenty in such a move. But if the details of the arrangement could be negotiated, there would be the possibility of redemption for Romney and bipartisan credibility for the President—and a sleeker, more effective government as well.

**Obama no longer has to worry about electoral politics, but his most immediate challenge is to become a more effective politician**

During the campaign, Obama was caught whispering to Russian President Vladimir Putin that he would have more "flexibility" to negotiate a missile-defense deal after the election. In fact, the President now has a range of possibilities for progress overseas. There are strong signs that Iran, crushed by economic sanctions, will be ready to make a deal to limit its nuclear program to peaceful uses, strictly verified by international inspectors. There is also, as always, an opportunity elsewhere in the Middle East. For his first overseas trip in his second term, the President should finally visit Israel, which will have its own election two days after Obama is inaugurated. He should celebrate that remarkable country but also make it very clear that now is the time for a two-state solution—which means a halt to Israel's illegal settlement expansion and an end to the refusal by Hamas, and other Palestinian extremists, to recognize Israel. (Hamas, which faces the same brand of Salafist opposition as Egypt's Muslim Brotherhood, might be ready to play.)

**There is other crucial work to be done,** like creating a more perfect Obamacare and putting climate change firmly back on the table. There is also immigration reform, which will be a true test of whether Republicans have read the election returns. Indeed, that is now the crucial question of American politics: Do Republicans understand that they went too far, that they've reached a demographic dead end? I watched Fox News for much of election night. The conservative voices were stronger, as usual, but the overall coverage was admirably fair and almost balanced. Fox even stood firm, on the side of reality, when Karl Rove, the godfather of the old GOP, disputed the network's call of Ohio for Obama. That may have been an outlier. The best ratings may be in continuing to demonize Obama. But as the man said in victory, "We are not as divided as our politics suggest." And it now seems clear the country has accepted this man as President and is anxious to move on. If Obama can prove himself a more deft politician than he has been and the Republicans accept the obvious lessons of this race, there is room for some optimism that, yes, we can. ■

**Stumping to victory**  
*On the trail in Richmond,  
Va.—a state Obama  
narrowly won*

**Photograph by  
Brooks Kraft for TIME**





**Part 2:**

**How  
He  
Did It**



ELECTION  
2012  
How He  
Did It

**Surviving the storm**

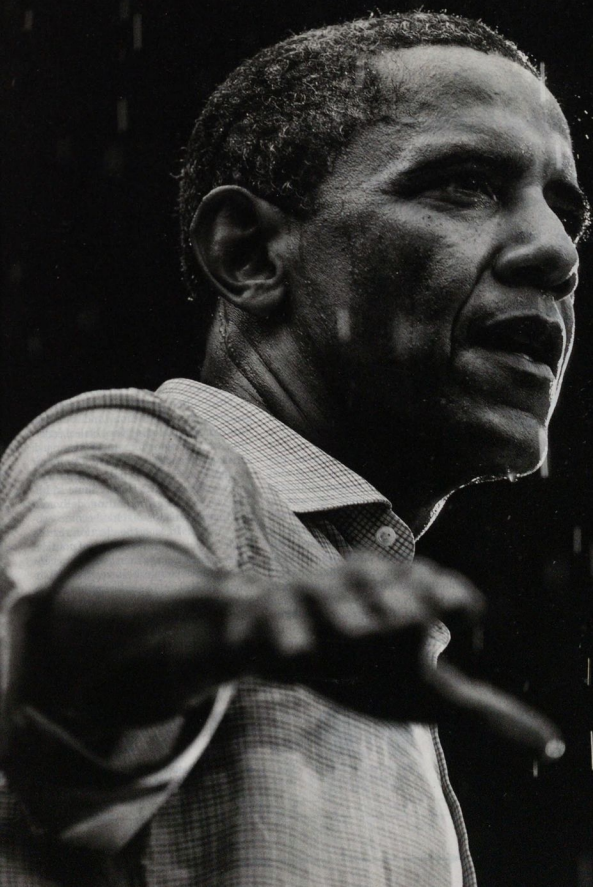
*With a weak economy and  
stiff opposition, Obama  
gutted out a win*

# For Obama, Survival Is the New Winning

By David Von Drehle

Photograph by Brooks Kraft for TIME





# A subtle message about things to come may

have been planted in the victory speech. The re-elected President, having proved that he can win by brawling and not just by floating on gossamer dreams, announced a new era of mature discipline—starting at home. Four years ago, Barack Obama delivered hope and change to his daughters in the lovable form of a brand-new puppy. This time around, all they got was a pat on the head. “Sasha and Malia,” he said before an adoring—and relieved—crowd in Chicago, “I’m so proud of you guys. But I will say that for now, one dog’s probably enough.”

It was a fitting end to a one-dog-s-enough sort of campaign. For months, even

years, the President and the challenger postured, attacked, dodged and debated. They and their supporters begged and spent crazy money—not millions, billions—yet somehow, fairly or unfairly, both candidates wound up looking a bit undersized. Obama once stirred multitudes in a football stadium against a backdrop of Greek pillars. Now he is mortal again, having earned roughly 9 million fewer votes than he won in 2008. A very crafty, very skilled mortal, politically speaking: Obama figured out how to leverage a thumping victory from relative weakness.

Republican Mitt Romney, who once saved the Olympics in Salt Lake City and

traded companies the way children trade Pokémon cards, worked for five years and leveraged nothing. By clawing back the GOP bastions of Indiana and North Carolina, he managed to cut Obama’s electoral-vote margin by 26 from the last time out, yet he lost one battleground after another, his campaign exhausted on such molehills as who should pay for Big Bird.

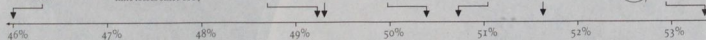
Obama became the first re-elected President in more than a century whose share of the vote was smaller his second time around. With a sluggish economy tugging at him like an anchor and a single-minded opposition dedicated to drowning him, the President set his sights on mere survival and welcomed it as his vindication. After all, in these harrowing times of stalled economies and cultural upheaval, survival is the new winning. Today’s answer to “How are you doing?” is “Compared with what?” One dog, in other words, is enough.

Once billed as a decisive moment in American history, the long and sour election wound up settling very little. Leadership in Washington remained unchanged: Obama in the White House, Democrat Harry Reid in the Senate, Republican John Boehner in the House. Some \$6 billion of campaign spending delivered another near tie to what has become a 50-50 America. In fact, the election results undercut one of the few points of political agreement among Americans in recent years. Most people believe that Washington is broken, or so they tell pollsters. Some blame the President and his fellow Democrats, with their vigorous agenda of deficit spending, health care for all and a green industrial policy. Some blame the nay-saying Republicans, who have resisted Obama each step of the way and were



## Second Term's A Charm

Getting re-elected is no sure thing, with only 15 wins vs. nine losses since 1824



rewarded with a midterm surge in 2010. But nearly every survey found a deep desire among the public for something different from the federal government.

Come Election Day, those wishes effectively canceled each other out. Nearly 120 million voters cast their ballots, and the net effect was no change at all. America went shopping for a new car and returned home with the same coughing jalopy. You have to dig deeply into the balloting to find anyone voted off the Washington island. A paltry handful of seats switched in the House of Representatives—including, if a recount holds, the voluble Tea Party hero Allen West in Florida—while Republicans kicked away another chance to take control of the Senate by nominating extreme candidates who used their soapboxes, in a few decisive cases, to air their peculiar views on the theology and biology of sexual assault.

As the saying goes in Silicon Valley, this result was not a bug in the software; it was a feature of it—the unsurprising result of carefully hatched plans in Chicago and Boston. Both sides put their fingers in the political winds many months ago, decided that the public would split evenly and built their strategies around that certainty. Expecting a close election, they focused their energies on stirring up their core supporters while stinting on vision and stoking fear. They flooded the ether with negative ads and steered clear of fresh ideas as if they were cow pies. So instead of a campaign about the future of the country, it was, by mutual agreement of the political consulting industry, a campaign about turnout in a relative handful of battleground counties.

Ultimately, Obama was buoyed by a segment of the electorate he was never

supposed to win: the forgotten white men he once dismissed as “bitter” and clinging “to guns or religion or antipathy to people who are not like them.” This Rust Belt lunch-bucket brigade went for Hillary Clinton in 2008 and for Ronald Reagan a generation before that. Obama retained just enough of them in his coalition of liberals, young people, working women, African Americans and Latinos. The result was a string of wins in the industrial Midwest that slammed the door on any possible Romney strategy. For many months these voters had been fed a steady diet of well-tailored messages that boiled down to this: sharp guys wearing soft suits and perfect haircuts have been shutting your factories and offshoring your jobs for decades, and now get a load of Mitt Romney. The fact that Romney had opposed Obama’s bailout of General Motors and Chrysler—giants of an industry that employs, directly or indirectly, hundreds of thousands of workers in Ohio and nearby states—more than sealed the deal. Between Romney’s position on the government rescue of Detroit and his party’s bristling line on Latino immigration, Obama had what he needed to build his fire walls.

The survivor took the stage well after midnight, having waited more than 90 minutes for the concession call from a stunned Romney headquarters. Four years earlier, at Grant Park in Chicago, the young Illinois Senator described his decisive win as a mandate for change—only to find that victory speeches expire in Washington quicker than the warranty on a bootleg wristwatch. Each bold step President Obama took toward his sweeping agenda brought him a little deeper into the mud, until he was swamped in

the wake of the Tea Party speedboat. Four years later, the struggle was visible in each gray hair on his head.

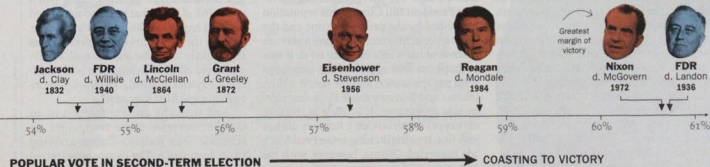
“I know that political campaigns can sometimes seem small, even silly,” Obama said. But politics “is important,” not least in a campaign like this one. “Democracy in a nation of 300 million can be noisy and messy and complicated,” he continued. “We have our own opinions. Each of us has deeply held beliefs. And when we go through tough times, when we make big decisions as a country, it necessarily stirs passions, stirs up controversy ... These arguments we have are a mark of our liberty.”

## Two Spent Forces

OBAMA MADE NO PROMISES OF BOLD NEW programs. Instead he pledged to work on cutting the deficit, overhauling the tax code and bridging the divide on immigration. Any trouble he has in claiming a larger mandate for a second term is in part because he never really sought one. It’s easy to forget that 2012 was a new experience for him, the first time Obama faced a vigorous re-election challenge—for any office. His political career until now had almost always been a one-way escalator gliding up, up, up. His swoon in the polls a month before the voting was his first encounter with the law of gravity, and he got quite close to earth before his chute opened.

If his first presidential campaign could be distilled into a single moment, it might be the day in July 2008 when he visited U.S. troops in Kuwait. The upstart rookie found himself in a gymnasium. Someone handed him a basketball. Obama was wearing a microphone and street shoes. He had not warmed up. He had no business taking a shot with cameras rolling,

GETTY IMAGES (13)







because the moment screamed metaphor. Undaunted, he bounced the ball, spun it between his fingers—then launched a three-pointer that carved a rainbow on its way to the pot of gold. His 53% share of the popular vote four months later was the largest any Democrat had won in more than 40 years.

This time around, Obama's game plan involved trading elbows beneath the basket. With the public down on his signature first-term achievement—the mammoth enterprise known as Obamacare—he and his allies decided to go negative early, pouring hundreds of millions of dollars into a summertime ad blitz targeted at swing-state voters. The idea was to paint Romney in lurid colors as Scrooge McDuck minus the spats, a Bain plutocrat who swam in gold coins that he looted from once proud companies before firing their hardworking employees. The ads pounded Romney over his tax returns, teased him about his wife's show horse and blamed him for the death of a woman whose husband once worked (but no longer did) at a company that Romney once controlled (but no longer did).

It was a page ripped from the GOP's soiled 2004 playbook. In that year, President George W. Bush overcame his weakness in the polls by savaging his challenger, John Kerry of Massachusetts.

#### Tag-teaming on the trail

*Bill Clinton gave a bravura defense of his wife's onetime rival*

Romney fought back with tactics similar to Obama's, though various spending rules meant that his negative barrage started later. By the final days of campaigning, according to one analysis, nearly 90% of campaign ads in the battleground states were negative. No one was wasting money on "Morning in America" uplift. It's not morning; many Americans are worried that it's twilight. The irony, in such a blood-red campaign, was that the men at the top were so bloodless: the number-crunching Romney vs. the aloof and analytical Obama.

The incumbent opened a lead in September, after the party conventions. Former President Bill Clinton, his reputation burnished by the passage of time and the experience of his successors, gave a bravura defense of his wife's onetime rival. It was perhaps the first speech of the campaign with any resonance, and the last. But then Obama and Romney made their first side-by-side appearance in a debate at the University of Denver on Oct. 3. Romney did not look nearly as frightening as the President's ads suggested. Obama, however, with his

low-energy performance, appeared to be every bit the spent force that Romney's negative script depicted. By a Gallup Poll-record 52-point margin, the viewing public crowned Romney the winner.

It turned out that Obama, in a burst of overconfidence, had canceled many of his prep sessions and somehow got it into his head that he didn't need to engage the earnest Romney while millions watched. The biggest surprise of the night, one Democratic partisan said—this is called putting some lipstick on the pig—was not that Obama failed to hide who he was but that Romney did such a fine job of pretending to be something he wasn't. That judgment helped explain why the post-Denver polls showed a whole new race, one suddenly too close to call. By some measures, the contest entered the final 10 days with public opinion almost exactly where it was in midsummer, an amazing thing when you think of it: all that heat and noise, and nothing happens. The country's one clear voice in the last hours of the election was an unlikely YouTube sensation, Colorado 4-year-old Abigail Evans, who sobbed pathetically and moaned, "I'm tired of Bronco Obama and Mitt Romney."

And then the ancient forecast of an October surprise came true, right on schedule, like Halley's Comet arriving from deep space. The campaigns fretted





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internally and boasted in public until a storm named Sandy doused the lights and distracted the country.

If a man with a hammer sees every problem as a nail, then a nation in full campaign mode sees every hurricane as a political football. Having learned well the lessons of Katrina, Obama tore up his travel schedule—Air Force One made a virtual U-turn in Florida—to keep watch from the White House as Sandy shoved a wall of water into New Jersey and New York. The storm diverted attention in the New York-based media and left Romney with little to do but bag relief donations and keep his lip zipped. In Boston, Romney staffers seethed as New Jersey Governor Chris Christie, the keynote speaker at the GOP convention, praised Obama's quick response and toured the ruins with the President by his side. According to some exit polls, voters likewise approved of Obama's storm performance, giving him the boost he needed to seal his win. Sandy "broke Romney's momentum," in the words of former Mississippi governor Haley Barbour, a GOP guru and veteran of the Katrina cleanup.

Obama's re-election and the continued split in Congress confirmed a reality that has been forming for a generation: no matter how passionately the true believers in each party make their case, no matter what new technologies arrive to amplify their voices, no matter how high the alps of campaign cash lavished on data mining, hypertargeted ads and voter mobilization become, Americans refuse to give a governing mandate to one side or the other. True, Republicans got control of the government in the early years of George W. Bush's presidency, and the Democrats had their turn when Obama swept into office. Some big things got done, first under the Republicans (tax cuts, a Medicare expansion, wars in Iraq and Afghanistan) and then under the Democrats (restructuring of the health care and automotive industries, new banking regulations, a jumpstart for green energy). But each time, voters yanked on the choke chain.

The U.S. is—for the moment, at least—a two-party system with no-party rule. Seven presidential elections have now gone by without a popular-vote landslide of 55% or more. That hasn't happened since the late 19th century. Political scien-

tists keep writing books saying a robust majority is on its way, to be gathered by one party or the other. Once again, though, the emerging majority failed to emerge. We're still waiting.

### Will the Fever Be Unbroken?

WHAT COMES NEXT FOR THE PARTY WARRIORS depends very much on tribal rituals that began the moment the election results were clear. As the losers, the Republicans now assign blame. As the winners, Democrats wrestle for credit.

Start with the blame game and the easiest gambit of all, which is to blame the candidate. No time was wasted in skewering Romney. "What we got was a weak moderate candidate, handpicked by the Beltway elites and country-club establishment wing of the Republican Party," groused Jenny Beth Martin of the Tea Party Patriots. "The presidential loss is unequivocally on them." Without a doubt, the former Massachusetts governor made an easy target. While he certainly looked the part of a President, his jaw strong and temples snowy, Romney was perhaps a candidate better seen than heard. He knew what the Obama camp intended to do with its negative ads, yet he seemed determined to help them do it.

"I like being able to fire people," Romney said at one point. Another time, he said his wife "drives a couple of Cadillacs." He was Obama campaign strategist David Axelrod's unpaid wordsmith, keeping the re-election campaign stocked with zingers—the most lethal of which undoubtedly was from his speech to a group of high rollers on the topic of Americans who don't pay federal income tax. The "47%," as he called this near majority, believe they are "victims" and constitute a drag on society. If author Ayn Rand were still alive, Romney might have fluttered her heart with this taxonomy. But the remark surely hurt him with the millions of retirees, troops, students and low-paid workers who rightly feel like contributing citizens. And who, through the many taxes other than income tax that they pay, may kick in a higher percentage of their income than Romney paid of his.

The question for Republicans is whether they'll go deeper into the blame game than simply scapegoating their nominee. If they are honest with themselves, they will recognize that the party made Romney's job

more rather than less difficult. Beginning with the almost comical anybody-but-Romney spectacle of the GOP primaries, where a parade of has-beens, not-yets and never-weres competed to flank Romney on the right, the party coaxed and prodded its candidate into damaging positions on immigration, abortion, gay rights and more. It wasn't enough for Romney to stand on a broadly appealing platform of fiscal responsibility and free enterprise. He was expected to somehow compete for Latino votes while denying undocumented immigrants a path to citizenship, even members of the military. He was supposed to vie for women's votes while down-ballot Republicans parsed the meaning of rape. The Tea Party movement can be credited with electrifying a body that flatlined after 2008, but what rose from the slab this year was a sort of Frankenstein's monster, a toxic patchwork of once buried ideas.

A party interested in winning future presidential elections would ask itself why candidates who might have been more adept campaigners than Romney chose to stay on the sidelines this year. Perhaps talents like Christie and Hoosier Mitch Daniels looked at the fates of Utah's Bob Bennett and Indiana's Richard Lugar—two longtime Senators whose careers were garroted during Tea Party-led purges—and decided to wait until after the GOP's deeply conservative fever breaks. And why did Romney's poll numbers jump only after the Denver debate, in which he reassured voters that he would be a moderate, open-minded President? There was a message for the right wing in that surge. As strategist Karl Rove put it on Fox News, "If we are going to win in the future, Republicans need to do better among Latinos, and they need to do better among women—particularly single women." But with no President Romney to remind them of it, the lesson is likely to be ignored.

Should Republicans point fingers at Romney without also pointing a few at the mirror, they will likely emerge from defeat convinced that the path to victory lies even further to the right. They will go deeper into the quagmire of the culture wars. They will double down on anti-immigrant rhetoric that helped turn California from the land of Reagan into an automatic 55 electoral votes for the Democrats. The failure to

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beat a hobbled incumbent should remind the GOP that politics is a game of addition, not exclusion. But there are powerful interests in the party—from evangelical preachers to talk-show theodites to leaders of right-wing pressure groups—who are more interested in ideological orthodoxy than winning elections. History suggests that the dominance of these forces won't last forever. The natural ebb and flow of the two-party system tends to pull ever so gradually toward the center. But their reign isn't over yet. Someone will have to depose them, and what brave soul is up for that job?

### Lessons for Democrats

ON THE OTHER SIDE OF THE THIN MEMBRANE separating winners from losers, Obama's Democrats are scrambling to claim more credit than the raw numbers would seem to support. Even before the last votes were tallied, as it became clear that Romney's efforts to tip the scales in Pennsylvania, Ohio and Iowa had failed, party leaders began spinning the win as a renewal of Obama's power. "He's holding a lot of cards coming off a win," John Podesta, who led the President's transition team four years ago, told the *New York Times*. "He can create a certain set of demands on Republicans that they're going to have to deal with." This is bold talk in a town where votes are power, and Obama officially has millions fewer than he had before. He lost the House two years ago and stands now on a narrow ledge in the Senate. The returns document his sagging popularity across the electorate. Comparing CNN exit polls from 2008 and 2012, Obama lost 4 points among men and a point among women, 6 points among voters under 30, 7 points among independents and 2 points among college graduates.

Should the Democrats examine their poorer showing, they will recognize that the chief lesson of the past four years is that they took their eye off the ball. When the economy is in trouble, all other issues are better off sidelined. But instead of devoting himself exclusively to bringing back housing or forcing banks to lubricate a credit market that had seized up (and still remains cranky), the President and his party used dubious legislative mechanisms to force a health care reform bill through Congress on a party-line vote.

Voters liked some of the provisions, like coverage for pre-existing conditions and the guarantee that young Americans can remain on their parents' insurance up to age 26. But the sheer complexity of the law and the hard-to-swallow claim that the vast program will actually save money led millions of voters to sour on Obamacare. What's more, the urgency with which the Democrats scrambled to pass the sweeping law fed the right's persistent suspicion that the President's party seeks to build a European-style welfare state.

Obama is unlikely to make the same mistake again. The signature accomplishment of his second term, if he can pull it off, will be not an expansion of entitlements but a reduction of them. Without reform, the brutal arithmetic of an aging population will eventually break the bank. He will sooner or later reach for the Grand Compromise that has eluded Washington for nearly 30 years: trading lower taxes on businesses and individuals for closing billions in loopholes and other tax-code giveaways that make virtually everyone in the U.S.—from corporations to small businesses to college students—welfare queens of one kind or another. Obama's vision, to the limited extent that he has shared it with the public, is even grander than that. He thinks he can wrap the long overdue reform of the tax code into structural changes to Social Security and health care entitlements in a way that cuts the deficit, lowers the tax burden, reduces

the debt and sparks economic growth. In theory, Republicans are for this, as it cuts spending on people who aren't Republicans. Democrats should like it because it reduces the pork that businesses get from Washington through backdoor giveaways in the tax code. Everyone has to give a little to save the Republic.

That kind of—brace yourselves for a Washington dirty word—compromise could take both parties months to embrace, and they may not get there in the two years or so before second-term Obama starts into the falling glide path of a lame duck. It is far from clear that men like Republican congressional leaders Mitch McConnell and John Boehner have the vision, temperament or muscle memory to get behind a commonsense deal. For that matter, they may not have the power inside a party purged of moderates. Democrats, meanwhile, are largely shorn of their own moderate fringe, and they did not give Obama an unchallenged cakewalk to renomination in order to have him make cuts in the entitlement programs that are the party's defining legacy.

Will Obama's re-election "clear away a lot of the ideological underbrush" in Washington, as the President predicted in the days before the election? The question may start generating answers quickly. The government is racing toward the so-called fiscal cliff, when an assortment of tax and spending issues deferred by both parties until after the campaign will demand action all at once. That's the first place to look for signs of a new dawn in Washington.

Obama goes into those talks with a stronger hand to play than his Election Day numbers might suggest. His principal campaign promise, a return to Clinton-era tax rates on top earners, is poised to drop effortlessly into his lap on Jan. 1, when the current lower rates expire. If the GOP decides to negotiate on taxes—a big if—that might be the moment. Other automatic triggers are set to enact unprecedented cuts in Pentagon spending, which will be more popular among Democrats than Republicans. In other words, a plunge from the cliff—which many economists say is a recipe for a new recession—will cause enough pain to Republicans that the GOP may decide to deal after four years of disciplined resistance.

## Americans refuse to give a governing mandate to either party





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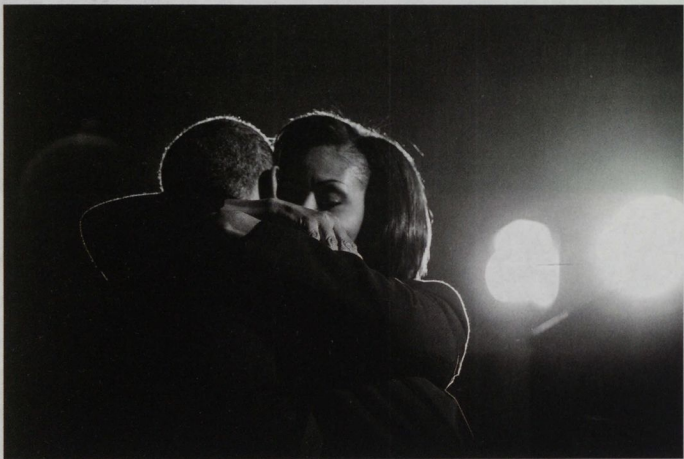
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But it's more likely that both sides will find a way to kick the can (or most of it) down the road again. After all, little in the election results suggests that the public voted for a different approach. Who knows? The parties may find it easier to make a grand deal on taxes and spending after taking a tumble from the cliff. Much of the pain would already have been incurred at that point, and reforms could be sold as salve, not castor oil.

### An Infinity of Deficits

THERE WERE TRENDS, PERHAPS, IN THE down-ballot initiatives. Voters endorsed same-sex-marriage rights in three states: Maryland, Maine and Washington. Marijuana was legalized in Colorado.

But a deliberately small and vague campaign came to an end without clarifying America's largest and most vivid challenges.

Unemployment remains high, particularly among the minorities and young people who were decisive for Obama on Election Day. Educational attainment, compared with other nations, is lagging at a time when global competition demands a sharper workforce. In fact, the percentage of Americans participating in the labor force is shrinking while enrollment in disability and retirement programs is

### Embracing victory

*In his election-night speech, Obama said Michelle made him who he is*

growing. In other words, a larger safety net is being held up by a smaller number of workers. At the state level, that plays out in the form of a more than \$1 trillion shortfall in promised pensions, which is forcing cities from coast to coast into default. At the federal level, the imbalance between workers and pensioners is revealed in an infinity of budget deficits for which neither party has a solution.

An improving economy would certainly help with these problems. After more than four years of the worst numbers since the Great Depression, there have been a few hopeful glimmers: steady (though weak) job creation, slow (but measurable) growth. The housing market is a bit stronger. The percentage of Americans who say the nation's on the wrong track is lower than it has been in years. How long this tepid recovery will last, though, is guesswork. Economists say a follow-on recession is a possibility as long as Europe staggers on the edge of fiscal unraveling and China's once explosive double-digit annual growth cools to mid-single digits. Overseas, the Middle

East seethes on. The U.S. prepares to withdraw from Afghanistan like a fist from a bucket of water—hardly leaving a trace. Next door, Iran draws closer to a nuke. Next door, Syria is burning. The leading powers of Asia—China and Japan—are at loggerheads over control of resources and bragging rights in the South China Sea.

The question always comes up after a presidential campaign, but especially in tough times: Who would want this job? And so it is worth remembering, always, that credit goes to the men and women who are willing to put themselves on the line, because it is often unpleasant and never easy but always vitally important. Barack Hussein Obama and Willard "Mitt" Romney stepped up to the fight this year; they campaigned doggedly (if not always well) and opened themselves to withering attacks not only on their political positions but also on their morals and good faith. This is the system we have, and it has proved durable and strong. But that doesn't make it pretty. In the end, each gave as good as he got, and Obama squeaked through. Ordeal? Yes. Uplift? Alas, no. —WITH REPORTING BY MICHAEL SCHERER/CHICAGO, ALEX ALTMAN/BOSTON AND MICHAEL CROWLEY, MASSIMO CALABRESI, JAY NEWTON-SMALL, KATY STEINMETZ, ALEX ROGERS AND ELIZABETH DIAS/WASHINGTON ■

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ELECTION  
2012  
How He  
Did It

# Inside the Secret Quants and Data Who Helped Obama

The new, new war room Obama's analytics group, whose techies reinvented the campaign

Photograph by Daniel Shea for TIME





# et World of ta Crunchers ama Win

By Michael Scherer

# In late spring, the backroom number crunchers

who had powered Barack Obama's campaign to victory noticed that George Clooney had an almost gravitational tug on West Coast females ages 40 to 49. The women were far and away the single demographic group most likely to hand over cash for a chance to dine in Hollywood with Clooney—and Obama.

So as they did with all the other data collected, stored and analyzed in the two-year drive for re-election, Obama's top campaign aides decided to put this insight to use. They sought out an East Coast celebrity who had similar appeal among the same demographic, aiming to replicate the millions of dollars produced by the Clooney contest. "We were blessed with an overflowing menu of options, but we chose Sarah Jessica Parker," explains a senior campaign adviser. And so the next Dinner with Barack contest was born: a chance to eat at Parker's West Village brownstone.

For the general public, there was no way to know that the idea for the Parker contest had come from a data-mining discovery about some supporters: affection for contests, small dinners and celebrity. But from the beginning, campaign manager Jim Messina had promised a totally different, metric-driven kind of campaign

in which politics was the goal but political instincts might not be the means. "We are going to measure every single thing in this campaign," he said after taking the job. He hired an analytics department five times as large as that of the 2008 operation, with an official "chief scientist" for the Chicago headquarters named Rayid Ghani, who in a previous life crunched huge data sets to, among other things, maximize the efficiency of supermarket sales promotions.

Exactly what that team of dozens of data crunchers was doing, however, was a closely held secret. "They are our nuclear codes," campaign spokesman Ben LaBolt would say when asked about the efforts. Around the office, data-mining experiments were given mysterious code names such as Narwhal and Dreamcatcher. The team even worked at a remove from the rest of the campaign staff, setting up shop in a windowless room at the north end of the vast headquarters office. The "scientists" created regular briefings on their work for the President and top aides in the White House's Roosevelt Room, but public details were in short supply as the campaign guarded what it believed to be its biggest institutional advantage over Mitt Romney's campaign: its data.

On Nov. 4, a group of senior campaign ad-

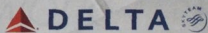
visers agreed to describe their cutting-edge efforts with TIME on the condition that they not be named and that the information not be published until after the winner was declared. What they revealed as they pulled back the curtain was a massive data effort that helped Obama raise \$1 billion, remade the process of targeting TV ads and created detailed models of swing-state voters that could be used to increase the effectiveness of everything from phone calls and door knocks to direct mailings and social media.

## How to Raise \$1 Billion

FOR ALL THE PRAISE OBAMA'S TEAM WON in 2008 for its high-tech wizardry, its success masked a huge weakness: too many databases. Back then, volunteers making phone calls through the Obama website were working off lists that differed from the lists used by callers in the campaign office. Get-out-the-vote lists were never reconciled with fundraising lists. It was like the FBI and the CIA before 9/11: the two camps never shared data. "We analyzed very early that the problem in Democratic politics was you had databases all over the place," said one of the officials. "None of them talked to each other." So over the first 18 months, the campaign started over, creating a single massive system that could merge the information collected from pollsters, fundraisers, field workers and consumer databases as well as social-media and mobile contacts with the main Democratic voter files in the swing states.


The new megafile didn't just tell the campaign how to find voters and get their attention; it also allowed the number crunchers to run tests predicting which types of people would be persuaded by certain kinds of appeals. Call lists in field offices, for instance, didn't just list names and numbers; they also ranked names in order of their persuadability, with the campaign's most important priorities first. About 75% of the determining factors were basics like age, sex, race, neighborhood and voting record. Consumer data about voters helped round out the picture. "We could [predict] people who were going to give online. We could model people who were going to give through mail. We could model volunteers," said one of the senior advisers about the predictive profiles built by the data. "In the end, modeling became something way

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Early on, for example, the campaign discovered that people who had unsubscribed from the 2008 campaign e-mail lists were top targets, among the easiest to pull back into the fold with some personal attention. The strategists fashioned tests for specific demographic groups, trying out message scripts that they could then apply. They tested how much better a call from a local volunteer would do than a call from a volunteer from a non-swing state like California. As Messina had promised, assumptions were rarely left in place without numbers to back them up.

The new megafile also allowed the campaign to raise more money than it once thought possible. Until August, everyone in the Obama orbit had protested loudly that the campaign would not be able to reach the mythical \$1 billion fundraising goal. "We had big fights because we wouldn't even accept a goal in the 900s," said one of the senior officials who was intimately involved in the process. "And then the Internet exploded over the summer," said another.

A large portion of the cash raised online came through an intricate, metric-driven e-mail campaign in which dozens of fundraising appeals went out each day. Here again, data collection and analysis were paramount. Many of the e-mails sent to supporters were just tests, with different subject lines, senders and messages. Inside the campaign, there were office pools on which combination would raise the most money, and often the pools got it wrong. Michelle Obama's e-mails performed best in the spring, and at times, campaign boss Messina performed better than Vice President Joe Biden. In many cases, the top performers raised 10 times as much money for the campaign as the underperformers.

Chicago discovered that people who signed up for the campaign's Quick Donate program, which allowed repeat giving online or via text message without having to re-enter credit-card information, gave about four times as much as other donors. So the program was expanded and incentivized. By the end of October, Quick Donate had become a big part of the campaign's messaging to supporters, and first-time donors were offered a free bumper sticker to sign up.

## Predicting Turnout

THE MAGIC TRICKS THAT OPENED WALLETS were then repurposed to turn out votes. The analytics team used four streams of polling data to build a detailed picture of voters in key states. In the past month, said one official, the analytics team had polling data from about 29,000 people in Ohio alone—a whopping sample that composed nearly half of 1% of all voters there—allowing for deep dives into exactly where each demographic and regional group was trending at any given moment. This was a huge advantage: when polls started to slip after the first debate, they could check to see which voters were changing sides and which were not.

It was this database that helped steady campaign aides in October's choppy waters, assuring them that most of the Ohioans in motion were not Obama backers but likely Romney supporters whom Romney had lost because of his September blunders. "We were much calmer than others," said one of the officials.

The polling and voter-contact data were processed and reprocessed nightly to account for every imaginable scenario. "We ran the election 66,000 times every night," said a senior official, describing the computer simulations the campaign ran to figure out Obama's odds of winning each swing state. "And every morning we got the spit-out—here are your chances of winning these states. And that is how we allocated resources."

Online, the get-out-the-vote effort continued with a first-ever attempt at using

Facebook on a mass scale to replicate the door-knocking efforts of field organizers. In the final weeks of the campaign, people who had downloaded an app were sent messages with pictures of their friends in swing states. They were told to click a button to automatically urge those targeted voters to take certain actions, such as registering to vote, voting early or getting to the polls. The campaign found that roughly 1 in 5 people contacted by a Facebook pal acted on the request, in large part because the message came from someone they knew.

Data helped drive the campaign's ad buying too. Rather than rely on outside media consultants to decide where ads should run, Messina based his purchases on the massive internal data sets. "We were able to put our target voters through some really complicated modeling, to say, O.K., if Miami-Dade women under 35 are the targets, [here is] how to reach them," said one official. As a result, the campaign bought ads to air during unconventional programming, like *Sons of Anarchy*, *The Walking Dead* and *Don't Trust the B---- in Apt. 23*, skirting the traditional route of buying ads next to local news programming. How much more efficient was the Obama campaign of 2012 than 2008 at ad buying? Chicago has a number for that too: "On TV we were able to buy 14% more efficiently... to make sure we were talking to our persuadable voters," the same official said.

The numbers also led the campaign to escort their man down roads not usually taken in the late stages of a presidential campaign. In August, Obama decided to answer questions on the social news website Reddit, which many of the President's senior aides did not know about. "Why did we put Barack Obama on Reddit?" an official asked rhetorically. "Because a whole bunch of our turnout targets were on Reddit."

That data-driven decisionmaking is another sign that the role of the campaign pros in Washington who make decisions on hunches and experience is rapidly dwindling, being replaced by the work of quants and computer coders who can crack massive data sets for insight. As one official put it, the time of "guys sitting in a back room smoking cigars, saying 'We always buy 60 Minutes'" is over. In politics, the era of big data has arrived. ■

# Magic tricks that opened wallets could also be used to turn out voters



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# James Poniewozik

## Lights, camera, traction: a few pivotal moments proved that live TV still matters

**Flash mob** The gigawatt eyes of the news media await U.S. President Barack Obama before his election-night rally in Chicago

THE 2012 CAMPAIGN CAN BE PROPERLY divided into B.D. and A.D.: Before Denver and After Denver. On 1 B.D.—you may know it as Oct. 2—Barack Obama was cruising in the battleground polls. A successful convention had lifted him all September. Reports suggested that Republican donors were considering shunting cash from Mitt Romney's lost cause to congressional races.

The A.D. era began, fittingly, with a resurrection. What happened at the first debate, on Oct. 3? The standard reading now is that Romney cleaned Obama's clock. He was poised and passionate, whereas Obama was sleepy and detached. Romney reintroduced himself as a pragmatic centrist and, for 90 minutes, made himself seem a stronger fighter than the incumbent.

And that's true—to an extent. But what was far more important was how the media, professional and social, talked about the debate in the days afterward. Denver took a race that looked as if it were already over and made it a contest. In an election that was supposed to be won by billions of dollars' worth of ads, it proved there is still no power like the free medium of two people

talking on a stage, steered and amplified by the populist megaphone of the Internet.

How one-sided was Denver, really? No sane person would do this for fun, but shortly before the election, I went back and rewatched. From the beginning, Romney is revved up. In the first couple of minutes, he cracks a disarming joke, shares anecdotes from beleaguered voters (swing state, check; women, check), ticks off a five-point plan and, oh, by the way, casually renounces the tax cuts for the wealthy he spent a year campaigning on.

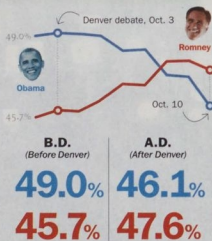
Obama, meanwhile, filibusters the debate, talking more but saying less. He mainly addresses moderator Jim Lehrer, not Romney. He looks down, a lot, which means that when Romney peppers him with golly-gee disappointment, he seems abashed. We see his eyelids as much as his eyes. But—contrary to the popular postdebate consensus—he does rebut Romney's arguments and call out his opponent's about-faces: "Now, five weeks before the election, he's saying his big bold idea is 'Never mind.'"

Bottom line, Romney won, and the postdebate snap polls confirmed that. But was it the unprecedented shellacking now ensconced in political memory? Not really. The shellacking came after—and came hardest from Obama's supporters. On MSNBC, Chris Matthews tore into him like a football coach after five interceptions: "Where was Obama tonight?" Andrew Sullivan, who had hailed Obama as the Democrats' Reagan in *Newsweek*, rent his garment: "He choked. He lost. He may have even lost the election." Obama may have been handicapped by his reality-based base; Romney lost the third debate handily, yet conservatives held message discipline, calling it at worst a draw.

The shift against Obama began before the first debate was even over, on social media: Twitter registered 10.3 million tweets during the first debate, the most for any event this election. Today the spin room is immediate, and it is us. It doesn't just amplify reactions; it intensifies them, because the strongest judgments—"WIN," "FAIL"—get liked and retweeted.

Whether it's the *Lost* finale, an approaching winter storm or a debate, the Internet likes to judge things the best ever or worst ever. That judgment was not kind

## Denver Bounce: The Difference a Day Made



Source: RealClearPolitics

to Obama in Denver, and political reporters, who live half their lives on Twitter nowadays, were reading and rendering it before the candidates left the podiums.

After a long, static grind of a campaign, the press was dying for a new story; in early September, political reporters were publicly bemoaning the "joyless" and "less fun" 2012 race. The A.D. era offered excitement. Suddenly the Romney-campaign moves that were desperate yesterday were confident today. Yesterday's idiots were today's geniuses. And each new campaign story would carry the tag "... after the President's drubbing in Denver." The polls moved a little in the first day or two, but they'd moved a lot a week and a half later.

None of this is an excuse for Obama—exactly the opposite. The President's job is to communicate in the media world that exists, not the one he wishes he had. Romney—who crammed for weeks while Obama reportedly skipped practices—behaved as if he knew that a good 90 minutes in front of 67.2 million viewers could erase a summer of floundering. One strong night, a swell of social-media buzz and a media hungry for a new narrative could slingshot his campaign like a deep-space probe accelerating off the gravitational field of Jupiter.

The lesson of Denver is: the moment matters. If you wait until the next day to answer your opponent—Obama introduced a slew of comeback zingers on the campaign trail—you may as well wait until December. In the second debate, when moderator Candy Crowley corrected Romney on live TV over a claim that Obama had not called the Benghazi consulate assault an "act of terror," it defanged a potentially devastating line of attack.

In the B.D. era, pundits and political scientists wondered whether debates really carried much weight anymore and whether TV in a fragmented media age was as relevant as it used to be. In the A.D. era, it turns out that TV debates are like all TV programs nowadays: they matter less, except when they matter more. In prime time, average audiences have gotten smaller—except for a few live-TV spectacles a year, like the Super Bowl and awards shows, whose audiences have grown bigger than ever, abetted by the instant watercooler of Twitter and Facebook.

So too with the campaign. Over a billion dollars' worth of TV ads barely budged the polls, but a handful of TV events did: the first debate (with 28% more viewers than in 2008), the well-executed Democratic Convention (though not Clint Eastwood and his chair at the GOP confab), Romney's leaked video disparaging "the 47%" on government assistance, and perhaps Hurricane Sandy, which not only gave Obama a bipartisan platform with New Jersey Governor Chris Christie but also provided a powerful, physical example of the President's argument for the role of government: You didn't rebuild that alone.

True, it's impossible to isolate each of these big media events from the larger trends around them. Did they change the course or accelerate a change that was already going to happen? Did the debates move voters to Romney, or was that preordained by the already tightening polls? Did Sandy give Obama a tailwind, or were the polls going to revert to him anyway? Obama won by a comfortable electoral margin, if not the blowout he once seemed headed for. But the evidence is strong in A.D. era politics that there are a few TV moments in each campaign that are still the equivalent of the Super Bowl. When they come along, you had better show up to play. ■





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<sup>\*</sup>Data taken from the *Massachusetts Male Aging Study*. Of 1,290 respondents, 52% stated that they had some degree of ED.

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VIAGRA is used to treat ED in men. When you want to have sex, VIAGRA can help you get and keep an erection when you are sexually excited. You cannot get an erection just by taking the pill. Only your doctor can prescribe VIAGRA.

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- Heart attack, abnormal heartbeats, or stroke
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- Low or high blood pressure
- Severe vision loss
- An eye condition called retinitis pigmentosa
- Kidney or liver problems
- Blood problems, such as sickle cell anemia or leukemia
- A deformed penis, Peyronie's disease, or an erection that lasted more than 4 hours
- Stomach ulcers or any kind of bleeding problems

Tell your doctor about all your medicines. Include over-the-counter medicines, vitamins, and herbal products. Tell your doctor if you take or use:

- Medicines called alpha-blockers to treat high blood pressure or prostate problems. Your blood pressure could suddenly get too low. You could get dizzy or faint. Your doctor may start you on a lower dose of VIAGRA.
- Medicines called protease inhibitors for HIV. Your doctor may prescribe a 25 mg dose. Your doctor may limit VIAGRA to 25 mg in a 48-hour period.
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- Sudden decrease or loss of hearing. We do not know if these events are caused by VIAGRA and medicines like it or caused by other factors. If you have sudden hearing changes, stop using VIAGRA and all medicines like it. Call your doctor right away.
- Heart attack, stroke, irregular heartbeats, and death. We do not know whether these events are caused by VIAGRA or caused by other factors. Most of these happened in men who already had heart problems.

If you have any of these problems, stop VIAGRA. Call your doctor right away.

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Do:

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- Take VIAGRA about 1 hour before you want to have sex. VIAGRA starts to work in about 30 minutes when you are sexually excited. VIAGRA lasts up to 4 hours.

Don't:

- Do not take VIAGRA more than once a day.
- Do not take more VIAGRA than your doctor tells you. If you think you need more VIAGRA, talk with your doctor.
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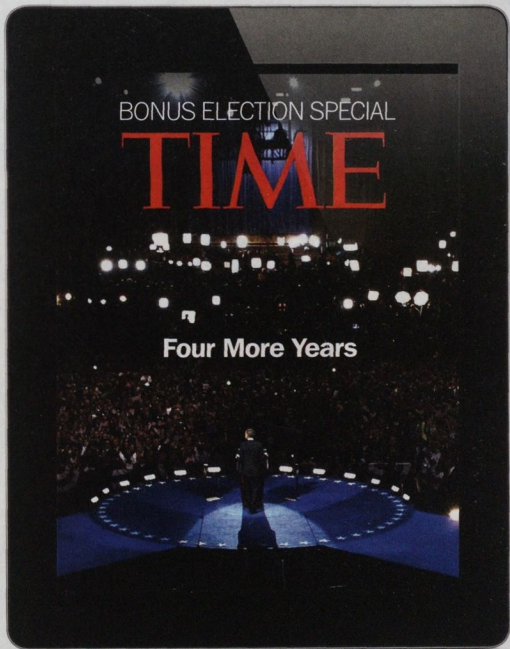
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# Part 3:

## A History of the Campaign in

# 100 Objects

FROM HERMAN CAIN'S COWBOY hat to Stephen Colbert's super-PAC fun pack to binders, Big Bird and bayonets, objects became the visual sound bites of the 2012 election. Perhaps because there was a dearth of ideas, politics watchers and Internet-meme makers seemed to focus more on things than in any previous campaign. So we thought it only appropriate to create our version of the BBC-British Museum series *A History of the World in 100 Objects* to tell the story of the election. The pages that follow show the real thing: actual pieces of history, many given to us by the candidates themselves. Rick Perry lent us his Stars and Stripes cowboy boots,

Jon Huntsman his beat-up briefcase, Rick Santorum his dog-eared pocket Constitution. Michele Bachmann sent the suit she wore on the day she won the Iowa straw poll. *Saturday Night Live* lent us the dentures Jason Sudeikis wears to flash Joe Biden's smile. (We didn't want to keep that one.) The president of an Ohio charity sent a soup pot that Paul Ryan cleaned—or re-cleaned—during an impromptu drop-in. Darrell Issa lent us the gavel he used during the congressional hearing about security in Libya. And the Republican National Committee let us photograph the empty chair that famously shared the stage with Clint Eastwood. —RICK STENGEL

Photographs by Grant Cornett for TIME

Reporting by Elizabeth Dias and Katy Steinmetz

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ELECTION FALSIFICATION IS GUILTY OF A FELONY OF THE FIFTH DEGREE

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For Office Use Only

Send Ballot to: \_\_\_\_\_  
(ONLY IF DIFFERENT FROM HOME ADDRESS)  
Name \_\_\_\_\_  
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City \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip Code \_\_\_\_\_

**1**  
**Ohio**  
**Absentee**  
**Ballot**

In 2008, 30% of Ohio ballots were cast early or absentee. This year both candidates focused on Ohio as a key battleground, especially after the government bailout of the auto industry gave Obama unusual traction with white male voters.



2

## The Republicans' Lectern

"What is needed in our country today is not complicated or profound. It doesn't take a special government commission to tell us what America needs. What America needs is jobs. Lots of jobs."

—Mitt Romney, Republican National Convention, Tampa, Aug. 30



## The Democrats' Lectern

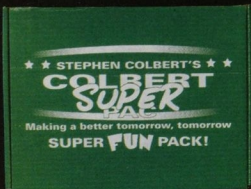
3

"I won't pretend the path I'm offering is quick or easy. I never have ... But know this, America: Our problems can be solved. Our challenges can be met. The path we offer may be harder, but it leads to a better place, and I'm asking you to choose that future."

—Barack Obama, Democratic National Convention, Charlotte, Sept. 6

## 4 Super-PAC Fun Pack

On June 30, 2011, the Federal Election Commission ruled that comedian Stephen Colbert could start his own super PAC. "There will be [those] who say, Stephen Colbert, what will you do with that unrestricted super-PAC money?" he told a crowd of supporters. "To which I say, I don't know. Give it to me and let's find out." He raised more than \$1.2 million. His do-it-yourself starter kit (\$99) included an instruction manual, an Allen wrench, a T-shirt that reads "Turtles don't like peanut butter," a pair of tube socks, a treasure map and a small canned ham resembling Karl Rove.



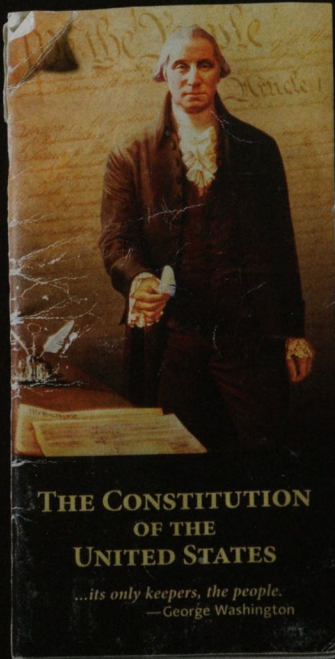
## 5 Official Obama Birth-Certificate Mug

"I have to say that over the last 2½ years, I have watched with bemusement—I've been puzzled at the degree to which this thing just kept on going. We've had every official in Hawaii, Democrat and Republican, every news outlet that has investigated this confirm that, yes, in fact, I was born in Hawaii, Aug. 4, 1961, in Kapiolani Hospital."

—Obama at a press conference on April 27, 2011, releasing a long-form copy of his birth certificate



The Obama campaign's Made in the USA birth-certificate mug sold out before Election Day



One of the former Pennsylvania Senator's handy Constitutions

## 6 Rick Santorum's Pocket Constitution

'I wave this Constitution at every speech, and I talk about it being the operator's manual of America. It's how America works.'



## 7 Jon Huntsman's Briefcase

The former Utah governor and ambassador to China was rarely without this Aston leather briefcase on the campaign trail. The moderate Republican (sample tweet: 'To be clear. I believe in evolution and trust scientists on global warming. Call me crazy') earned outsize media attention early in his campaign but dropped out Jan. 16 after a third-place finish in New Hampshire.



One aide referred to the valise as Huntsman's "brain trust"



## 8 Tiffany Box

Shortly after former House speaker Newt Gingrich announced his candidacy in May 2011, Politico revealed that he and his wife Callista had owed luxury jeweler Tiffany up to \$500,000. There was soon news of a second credit line, and critics took to calling the candidate Newt Blingrich.

Romney: "If you have a half-a-million-dollar purchase from Tiffany's, you're not a middle-class American."

Gingrich: "We're private citizens. I work very hard. We have a reasonably good income ... My home is paid for. My cars are paid for. We don't have a second house. We don't do elaborate things."

## 9 Etch A Sketch

'You hit a reset button for the fall campaign. Everything changes. It's almost like an Etch A Sketch. You can kind of shake it up and we start all over again.'

—Romney adviser Eric Fehrnstrom, in a CNN interview on March 21 that led Rick Santorum to call Romney "the Etch A Sketch candidate"



The company's response: "We have a left knob and a right knob for each political party."

## 10 Godfather's Pizza

"When the Pillsbury Co. made me CEO of Godfather's Pizza, I didn't get the memo that the company was headed for bankruptcy. It wasn't easy, but we turned the company around. Today I am announcing that I am running for President of the United States."

—Herman Cain, in his YouTube announcement video, released May 18, 2011





11

## Rick Perry's Boots

"I'm glad I had my boots on tonight, because I sure stepped in it out there," Rick Perry said after his "Oops" moment in the Nov. 9, 2011, debate, when he couldn't remember the names of three government departments he wanted to abolish. Rocky Carroll made this pair of ostrich-leather boots for the Texas governor in 2001. Perry chose the words *freedom* and *liberty* in honor of 9/11 victims.



12

## Michele Bachmann's Suit

The Minnesota Congresswoman's first-place finish in the Iowa straw poll was the high point of her presidential campaign. She wore this Kasper suit (retail price: \$240) for her speech to Republicans in Ames on Aug. 13, 2011. Bachmann dropped out of the race on Jan. 4 after coming in sixth in the Iowa caucuses.



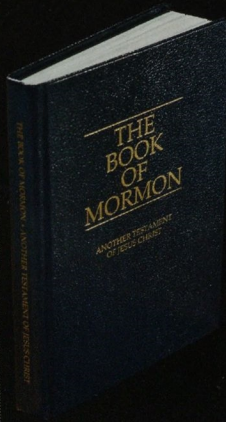
13

## Birth Control

When the Obama Administration required in January 2012 that most health-insurance plans provide free access to contraception, Catholic bishops charged that it was a violation of religious freedom. In February, House Republicans convened an all-male panel of experts to debate the new rule; House Democrats countered with a panel that included Georgetown law student Sandra Fluke, whom radio host Rush Limbaugh called "a slut." It was a particularly low point in what Democrats termed a Republican "war on women," an ongoing, heated debate about reproductive rights. The most memorable battle ensued after Missouri Congressman Todd Akin declared, on the topic of abortion in the case of rape, "If it's a legitimate rape, the female body has ways to try to shut that whole thing down."

## 14 The Book of Mormon

Was Romney's faith a liability? One in five voters said they would not vote for a Mormon, but stories of his work ministering to his congregation showed a softer private side.



## 15 Sweater-Vests

Rick Santorum visited all 99 counties in Iowa before the state's caucuses. On many of these visits, his sweaters did not have sleeves. Reporters noticed, as did staffers, who ordered vests like this one, embroidered with his logo. They became, in Santorum's words, the campaign's "official wardrobe"—and a useful talking point: "We of course sourced that sweater-vest in a company that was making them here in the United States."



## 16 Glitter Bombs

On June 16, 2011, former Minnesota governor and Republican presidential candidate Tim Pawlenty was in San Francisco signing copies of his book *Courage to Stand* when two activists covered his table with hot pink glitter and confetti. "Where is your courage to stand for gay rights and women's reproductive rights?" yelled Nancy Mancias, 42, while being escorted away by security. During the primaries, the so-called glitterati also targeted Gingrich, Romney, Santorum and Bachmann.



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Mucinex in. Mucus out.®

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17

## Herman Cain's Hat

When Cain won the Florida straw poll on Sept. 24, 2011, "it shocked the political world," he later told *TIME*. "It shocked everybody." He suspended his campaign in December after allegations of sexual impropriety arose, but in January he wore this hat to a Rock Me like a Herman Cain rally in Charleston, S.C.



## Rick Santorum's Shale

18

In a speech following the Michigan primary, Rick Santorum said Big Government was suffocating the domestic energy industry and produced this piece of shale, waving it around to make his point. "This is oil," he told the crowd. "Oil. Out of rock. Shale." The Internet responded with a dedicated Twitter handle, @SantorumShale, which tweeted, "It's just me, the pocket constitution, and Rick against the world."



19 Cheesy  
Grits

‘Morning, y’all.  
Good to be  
with you. I  
got started  
right this  
morning with  
a biscuit and  
some cheesy  
grits. I’ll tell  
ya—delicious.’

—Romney at an event in Jackson, Miss., on March 9, before the primaries in Alabama and Mississippi. He came in third in both contests on March 13



20 HPV  
Vaccine

Michele Bachmann attacked Rick Perry in the Republican-primary debate on Sept. 12, 2011, for requiring HPV vaccinations for sixth-grade girls in Texas, then earned criticism for suggesting the next day in a television interview that “that injection” could cause “mental retardation.” The American Academy of Pediatrics responded, “There is absolutely no scientific validity to this statement. Since the vaccine has been introduced, more than 35 million doses have been administered, and it has an excellent safety record.”



Thorsen on shaking Paul’s hand:  
“This is an incredible moment for me. It’s like  
meeting a rock star.”

21 Jesse Thorsen’s  
Helmet

After the Iowa caucuses, veteran Jesse Thorsen, who wore this helmet while serving in Afghanistan, was reprimanded by the Army Reserve for endorsing libertarian Ron Paul while in uniform. Thorsen’s rationale: “His foreign policy is by far, hands down, better than any candidate’s out there ... We don’t need to be picking fights overseas.”



22

One Man’s  
Moon  
Plan

‘By the end  
of my  
second  
term, we  
will have  
the first  
permanent  
base on the  
moon. And  
it will be  
American.’

—Newt Gingrich, in the run-up to the Florida primary, speaking to a crowd of Space Coast voters. While chairman of the Congressional Space Caucus in 1984, Gingrich co-wrote *Window of Opportunity: A Blueprint for the Future*, laying out arguments for developing outer space



# *The Spirit of America*™

A photograph of a woman with dark hair tied back, wearing a red short-sleeved shirt. She is leaning forward and talking to two young girls. The girls are wearing red and white baseball uniforms with red caps. The background is a plain, light-colored wall.

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ELECTION  
2012  
Oldest  
Lesson





## 23-72 Buttons

Twitter invites candidates to boil their message down to haiku, but that is epic poetry compared with the instant message delivered by the campaign button. No issue in American politics has ever been so thorny or complex that it couldn't be expressed on a tiny circle of metal. Health care, immigration, abortion rights, gay rights, oil drilling, the war on women—all these topics found their way onto voters' lapels during 20 months of primary and general campaigning. Luckily for the Republican nominee, members of Dogs Against Romney don't yet have the right to vote.





73

## 'Do Not Euthanize Me' Bracelet

At a faith forum in Columbia, Mo., on Feb. 3, Rick Santorum said that elderly people in the Netherlands wear bracelets that say "Do not euthanize me" because euthanasia accounts for 10% of deaths in Holland and half of those people are euthanized involuntarily. In fact, Santorum's statistics were overblown and the bracelets nonexistent. A joke website was soon selling mock bracelets "for travelers going to the Netherlands who would like to return alive," priced at \$15.

## 74 Two-Dads Onesie

'At a certain point, I've just concluded that—for me personally, it is important for me to go ahead and affirm that—I think same-sex couples should be able to get married.'

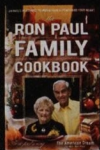
—Obama, in a May 9 interview with ABC's Robin Roberts; he became the first sitting president to support same-sex marriage



## 75 Trayvon Martin's Skittles

On Feb. 26 in a gated community in Sanford, Fla., 17-year-old Trayvon Martin was shot and killed by neighborhood watch coordinator George Zimmerman after he observed the unarmed African American teen's "suspicious" behavior. The public clamored for Zimmerman's arrest, with activists brandishing Skittles—which Martin had bought just before his death—as a mordant protest symbol. On March 23 the first black President weighed in from the Rose Garden. "If I had a son," Obama said, "he'd look like Trayvon." Newt Gingrich called the remarks "disgraceful," claiming the tragedy was not "a racial issue." Despite the Martin case and the mass theater shooting in Aurora, Colo., in July, both Obama and Romney shied away from discussing gun control during the national campaign.

## 76 Ron Paul's Cookbook



Three time presidential candidate Ron Paul is a family man, with his wife and grandchildren frequently joining the libertarian on the trail. In November 2011 his campaign started selling the *Ron Paul Family Cookbook*, a compilation featuring recipes by "Mrs. Ron Paul"; its 28 pages include instructions for making Oreo cake, warm sautéed bananas and Razzle Bo-Dazzle pork tenderloin. "Ron's always done everything right," said Mrs. Ron Paul, a.k.a. Carol, to a Las Vegas crowd on Feb. 1, the day of their 55th wedding anniversary. "I have to follow along because of that."





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77

## P90X DVDs

Republican VP nominee Paul Ryan's father and grandfather died young of heart attacks. Ryan, a high school soccer player, was only 16 when he lost his dad. Determined to break the pattern, he became the Hill's top gym rat, leading colleagues through an intense P90X regimen. He even kept the workout on his iPad for use on the campaign trail. P90X creator Tony Horton is a nonpartisan taskmaster; he has also worked with Michelle Obama and her Let's Move campaign.

78

## Dressage Foam Finger

Ann Romney waved a self-mocking foam finger as her horse Rafalca competed for a spot in the London Olympics.



A Texas employee of TransCanada provided this helmet, a symbol for thousands of potential pipeline workers

79

## TransCanada Helmet

In January, Obama rejected an application to build the Keystone XL pipeline, a TransCanada project to connect Canadian oil sands with Texas refineries. Republicans argued that the pipeline would promote U.S. energy independence and employ thousands of workers; some Democrats as well as environmentalists opposed construction because of potential risks to freshwater reserves and wetland ecosystems. Obama says he rejected the "arbitrary deadline" for reviewing the project, not the project itself.



80

## Supreme Court Quill

On June 28 the Supreme Court upheld key portions of the Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act, Obama's signature piece of legislation. In a surprise move, Chief Justice John Roberts sided with the majority in the 5-4 decision, writing that the law's financial penalty for those who do not obtain insurance "may reasonably be characterized as a tax. Because the Constitution permits such a tax, it is not our role to forbid it, or to pass upon its wisdom or fairness." In SCOTUS tradition, lawyers representing the Administration and the 26 plaintiff states received ceremonial white goose quills like the one pictured.



## 81 Plastic Rain Ponchos

In Florida two days before the Michigan primary, Romney stopped by the NASCAR Daytona 500 and told a group of plastic poncho-clad fans, "I like those fancy raincoats you bought. Really sprung for the big bucks." He told a reporter that he doesn't follow the sport closely—but, he said, "I have some great friends that are NASCAR team owners."



TIME got this jar straight from the White House, where the residence staff oversees the bees

## 82 White House Honey

Always eager to promote healthy eating and exercise, Michelle Obama competed in a push-up contest against Ellen DeGeneres and presented Jay Leno with a jar of official White House honey when she appeared on his show. "White House honey?" Leno quipped. "That sounds bad. You know with a different President, that could mean a whole different thing."

## 83 Sollmann Electric Uniform

'My name is Dennis Sollmann, president of Sollmann Electric, and I built this.' So said a small-business owner in an ad denouncing Obama's 'You didn't build that' line.



## 84

## Big Bird

Asked in the first debate about taming the deficit, Romney targeted public TV: "I like PBS. I love Big Bird," he said. "But I'm not going to keep on spending money on things to borrow money from China to pay for it." Both candidates said this race is about big things and high stakes, even though the PBS subsidy is about 0.01% of the budget. Protesters dressed as Sesame Street characters soon showed up at a Romney rally, and Obama released a snarky ad about the "big, yellow ... menace to our economy." Big Bird made an appearance on *Saturday Night Live*: "It's so weird to think that just a few days ago, I could just blend in like every other perfectly normal 8-ft.-tall talking bird."



85

## Clint Eastwood's Chair

Prime-time viewers did not get to see a moving video tribute to Romney at the GOP Convention. Instead they witnessed the year's most bizarre political debate, improvised by surprise guest Clint Eastwood with this chair. Its occupant, soon dubbed @InvisibleObama, became an instant Twitter star after being harangued by the Hollywood icon. Eastwood to chair: "You're crazy. You're absolutely crazy. You're getting as bad as Biden."





86

**Soup-  
Kitchen  
Pot**

After Paul Ryan visited a Youngstown, Ohio, soup kitchen on Oct. 13, Brian Antal, president of the charity, accused him of staging a photo op without permission and washing dishes that were already clean. Ryan later returned to Ohio to give a major speech about poverty.

David Corn

THANK  
YOU

Inside this card addressed to Corn were  
a memory card containing the 47% video and  
a stamped word: **CONFIDENTIAL**

## 87 Thank-You Card

"There are 47% of the people who will vote for the President no matter what," Romney told supporters in May at a \$50,000 a plate fundraiser in Boca Raton, Fla. "I'll never convince them that they should take personal responsibility and care for their lives." When David Corn, *Mother Jones*' Washington bureau chief, posted an anonymously recorded video of Romney's remarks on the magazine's website four months later, "the 47%" became a rallying cry for those who felt Romney was out of touch with the 99%.



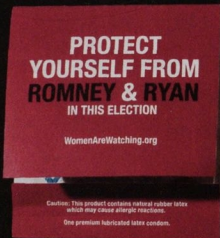
## 88 Chick-fil-A Sandwich

Former Arkansas governor Mike Huckabee declared Aug. 1 Chick-fil-A Appreciation Day after the chain's CEO, Dan Cathy, affirmed his company's opposition to same-sex marriage. Romney stayed on the sidelines of the controversy ("Those are not things that are part of my campaign," he said in Las Vegas on Aug. 3), though later financial filings showed a \$500 campaign purchase at an Atlanta Chick-fil-A in late July and \$900 more in August.

## 89 Planned Parenthood Condom

**'I've never seen anything like this. I've never seen a presidential election where women's basic access to birth control is practically on the ballot.'**

—Cecile Richards, president of Planned Parenthood, to the *Washington Post* on Aug. 25, speaking out about Republican legislative efforts to defund Planned Parenthood and restrict access to abortion. The organization distributed hundreds of anti-Romney-Ryan condoms at the Democratic Convention



Caution: This product contains natural rubber latex which may cause allergic reactions.  
One premium lubricated latex condom.



## 90 Michelle Obama's Nail Polish

Fashionistas obsess over the First Lady's every sartorial decision. For her speech at the Democratic National Convention, she wore a muted blue-gray gel nail polish that style writers quickly identified as the color Vogue from Artistic Nail Design; the company was swarmed with requests from salons. The next month, Ann Romney opted for light blue nails at the town-hall debate. "So we gotta ask," wrote one fashion blogger. "Who wore blue nail polish better?"

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Watch video



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## 93 Binders Full of Women

**'I went to a number of women's groups and said, "Can you help us find folks?" And they brought us whole binders full of women.'**

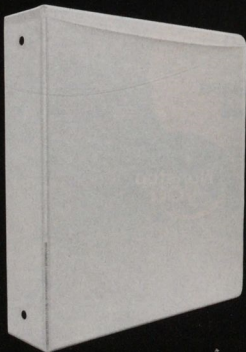
—Romney, describing his efforts to recruit women when he became governor of Massachusetts, in response to a question about gender inequality during the town-hall debate. The phrase "binders full of women" immediately became a rich subject for satire, and the women's group MassGAP later said its members were the ones who instigated the hiring effort



94

## Big Apple Pizza

Scott Van Duzer, a 6-ft., 3-in., 260-lb. pizza-shop owner and registered Republican in Fort Pierce, Fla., earned a starring role in the Obama campaign after he lifted the President off the ground in a bear hug on Sept. 9. "Man, are you a power lifter or what?" asked Obama, who had made a stop at Van Duzer's Big Apple Pizza parlor. The image went viral, and Van Duzer later attended the third presidential debate, in Boca Raton, and introduced the President at a Delray Beach rally. "Every time I need a pick-me-up," Obama quipped, "I try to see Scott." When Obama critics targeted Van Duzer's restaurant with negative Yelp reviews, supporters responded with a slew of positive pizza ratings.



## 91 Martha Raddatz's Press Pass

Presidential debates are supposed to generate controversy; debate moderators are supposed to be invisible. But in 2012 the moderators became debating points themselves. Jim Lehrer of PBS got poor marks from liberals in the first debate for staying out of the conversation. Candy Crowley of CNN was criticized by conservatives for being too involved in the town hall. Martha Raddatz of ABC won high marks from both sides for keeping the always aerobic Biden and the wonky Ryan focused during their Oct. 11 debate at Centre College in Kentucky.



## 92 U.S. Military Bayonet

In the Oct. 22 debate, Romney took a swipe at Obama's record on defense, pointing out that the Navy has fewer ships today than it did nearly a century ago. Obama's response: "Well, Governor, we also have fewer horses and bayonets, because the nature of our military's changed." Fewer bayonets, but not none: all Marines are trained to use them, while bayonets like this one, which attaches to the collar of a 1903 Springfield rifle, are spun and thrown by the Army drill team.



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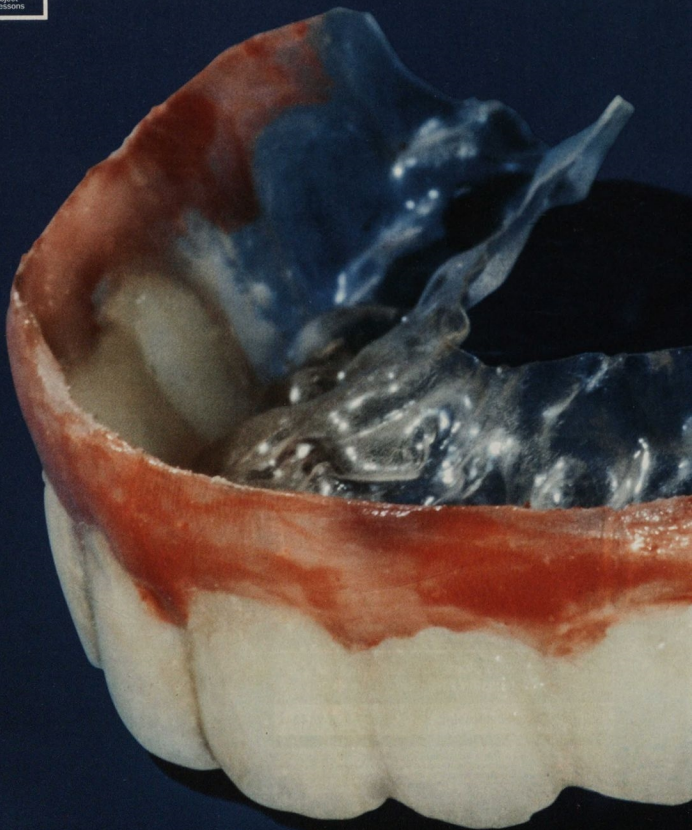
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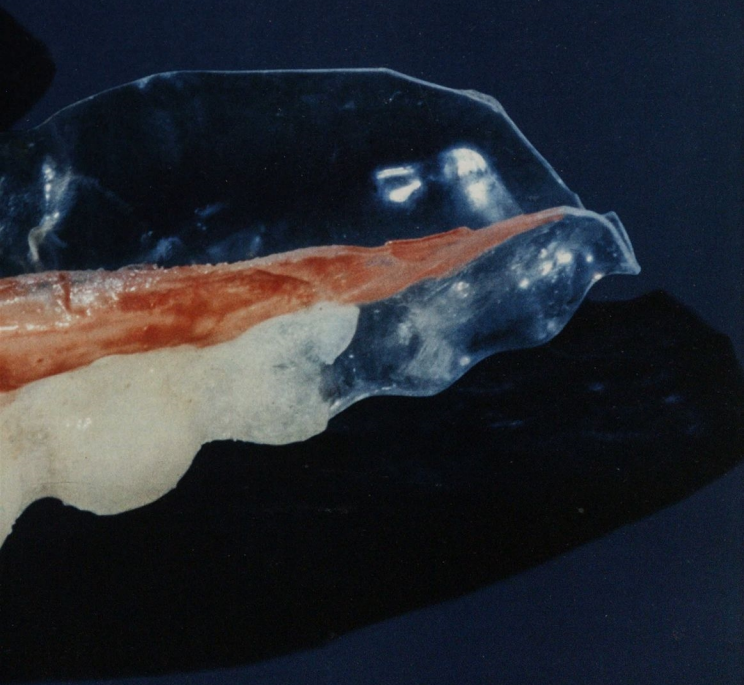
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## 95 Joe Biden Teeth

Since 2008, comedian Jason Sudeikis has played Joe Biden on *Saturday Night Live*. Sudeikis has been helped by this prosthesis, molded on his teeth and painted by makeup artist Louie Zakarian to match the Vice President's smile. Biden—or Big Daddy Joe, as he's called on *SNL*—likes to talk, and his gaffes (when he jumped the gun on the President's supportive statement about same-sex marriage, for example) have been a trademark of his time in office. His teeth, however, took the spotlight after the VP debate on Oct. 11, when he smirked and laughed so often at Paul Ryan that his smile took on, in critics' eyes, an aggressive, condescending life of its own.





96

## White House M&M's

It wasn't a traditional October surprise. But Hurricane Sandy brought unexpected bipartisanship in the last days of the campaign as the President toured the ravaged New Jersey coast with Republican Governor Chris Christie, handing out White House M&M's to children at shelters. Christie, who attacked the President at a Romney rally in Richmond, Va., two weeks earlier, changed his tune when Obama summoned the full resources of the federal government to New Jersey's aid and thanked the President publicly and profusely. "When it comes to getting things done," Christie said, "I don't care what party somebody's in."



97

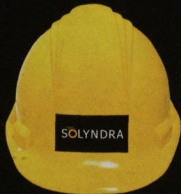
## 7-Eleven Election Cups

'Get your steaming hot cup of democracy' was the tagline for 7-Eleven's coffee-cup poll, which debuted in 2000 and correctly predicted George W. Bush's wins in that year and 2004, as well as Obama's in '08. The store posted daily results of cups 'cast'—not counting green cups, chosen by undecided voters who didn't want to be left out in the cold.

98

## Solyndra Hard Hat

The California solar-panel business Solyndra received \$528 million in government loan guarantees as part of the 2009 federal stimulus plan but then filed for bankruptcy in September 2011, causing more than 1,000 employees to lose their jobs. The company was supposed to be synonymous with clean energy; instead, *Solyndra* became a dirty word that dogged the President throughout the campaign. Romney called the failed investment a symbol of Obama's "gross waste" and an argument for kicking government out of the energy sector.





GECKONOMICS

301



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## 99 Darrell Issa's Gavel

Foreign policy had been a footnote in an economy-focused campaign until a deadly Sept. 11 attack on the U.S. consulate in Benghazi, Libya, killed Ambassador J. Christopher Stevens and three other Americans. On Oct. 10, Republican Representative Darrell Issa banged this gavel to start a four-hour congressional hearing on security at the consulate; days later, he accused the Obama Administration of concealing facts about the attack. Romney also pounced, accusing Obama of being too slow to call the act terrorism, lest he admit al-Qaeda's enduring strength and the "unraveling" of his foreign policy in the Arab world. But the partisan attacks gained limited traction. After Obama's aggressive defense in their second debate, Romney dropped the issue.



100

## Gas Can

Hurricane Sandy left thousands of East Coast residents displaced and millions more stranded in the dark. With public transportation and power lines down, cars and generators offered relief—until they ran out of fuel. Gas prices had once threatened to become a campaign issue; instead, the days leading up to Nov. 6 were marked by gas lines in New Jersey, New York and Connecticut, as crowds of consumers holding red jerricans waited for fuel at the few stations that had any. It wasn't the coda either party expected, but it was proof that no matter how tightly scripted a campaign, there's no accounting for acts of nature.

ALZHEIMER'S DISEASE COSTS AMERICANS  
\$200 BILLION ANNUALLY.


BUT THE REAL LOSS IS IMPOSSIBLE TO MEASURE.



Currently, an estimated 5 million Americans have Alzheimer's. This disease is cruel, devastating and could cripple Medicare and impact every one of us. Think of all the special moments that could be taken from you.

Take action at [alz.org](http://alz.org) or call 800.272.3900.



alzheimer's   
association



# THE RACE AGAINST TIME

LIVING WITH  
ALZHEIMER'S HAS  
BECOME A HEART-  
BREAKING REALITY  
FOR OUR AGING  
POPULATION. IT'S  
TIME FOR STRONG  
PUBLIC POLICY

MATTHEW FORDMAN

IN PARTNERSHIP WITH

alzheimer's  association

# NEW AGE CRISIS

ALZHEIMER'S DOESN'T  
JUST ROB PATIENTS OF  
THEIR QUALITY OF LIFE,  
IT HURTS FAMILIES TOO.



**A SAD STATISTIC:**  
More people are  
getting younger-onset  
Alzheimer's, like LPN  
Gordon Broom

GORDON BROOM WAS READING A HARRY POTTER novel five years ago when he first noticed signs that his memory was slipping. "I'd always been an avid reader, but it started becoming harder for me to remember what I'd read from one paragraph to the next," recalls Broom, who turned 60 this year. His symptoms eventually affected his job as well. A licensed practical nurse and a social worker for the U.S. Department of Veterans Affairs for 21 years, Broom had to resort to an elaborate system of color-coded Post-it notes to keep his clients and the details of his job straight.

"I was anxious and upset all the time," he says, "and it was hard for me to concentrate at work." In 2007, more than five years after the initial signs appeared, a neurologist delivered the official diagnosis: younger-onset Alzheimer's disease. "I was distraught, but instead of feeling sorry for myself, I've decided to try to do what I can to help other patients like me," says Broom, who is now an advisor to the Alzheimer's Association. "And I'm trying to enjoy my life."

Broom is one of roughly 5 million Americans living with Alzheimer's disease, a progressive brain disorder that damages patients' minds, shatters families and costs the nation more than \$200 billion each year. Although the disease most often occurs in individuals over 65, it can also afflict those in their 50s or even 40s. Medications exist to temporarily treat the symptoms, but the disease has no cure. Alzheimer's is inevitably fatal. Some patients live as long as 20 years after diagnosis, but many more die within a decade.

These statistics are expected to become even direr. By 2025, the Alzheimer's Association projects, the number of people age 65 and older with Alzheimer's disease will reach an estimated 6.7 million—a 30% increase. Barring the development of medical breakthroughs to prevent, slow or stop the disease, that number will swell to a pro-

jected 11 million to 16 million by 2050. At that time, an estimated one in two individuals over 85 will have Alzheimer's.

## ASTOUNDING COSTS

At the same time, the costs associated with Alzheimer's are expected to rise to an astounding \$1.1 trillion per year by 2050. "We have an epidemic now," says Maria Carrillo, Ph.D., vice president of medical and scientific affairs at the Alzheimer's Association, "and we are looking at a tidal wave of people coming to the age of risk."

In light of these grim forecasts, both the public and private sectors are working feverishly to find new treatments. Earlier this year, the Secretary of Health and Human Services released the National Plan to Address Alzheimer's Disease, a comprehensive initiative to pre-

**A NATIONAL  
CRISIS:  
1 OUT OF 8  
AMERICANS  
OVER 65  
SUFFER FROM  
ALZHEIMER'S**



# CURING ALZHEIMER'S

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# HOPE BEGINS WITH INNOVATION

Researchers working on Alzheimer's are making progress every day. Overcoming setbacks, we now have nearly 100 medicines for Alzheimer's and other dementias in development.

Thanks to innovative biopharmaceutical research, these medicines are providing hope to millions of patients and their families struggling with this devastating disease.

We salute the recent recipients of PhRMA's first annual Research and Hope Award - distinguished scientists and patient advocates leading the fight against Alzheimer's.

Breakthroughs in biopharmaceutical research are leading to promising new treatments for Alzheimer's.

**PhRMA**  
Research. Progress. Hope.  
[www.fromhopetocures.org](http://www.fromhopetocures.org)





**THE DAILY STRUGGLE:**  
Rich and Ginger  
Linehan at their home  
in Katonah, N.Y.; Walk  
to End Alzheimer's  
in Indiana; Bradley  
Garner clings to his dad  
Jim, who suffers from  
Alzheimer's



vent and effectively treat the disease by 2025. In the meantime, researchers have launched, or soon will launch, more than 100 clinical trials of possible treatments.

Such comprehensive research has gained a foothold only in the last three decades, some 100 years after German psychiatrist Aloisius Alzheimer first identified the disease. The precise physiologic changes that trigger the disease's development remain largely unknown. But scientists believe that two abnormal structures—commonly known as plaques and tangles—are the hallmarks of Alzheimer's disease. Scientists believe that these two structures may clog brain cells in much the same way debris blocks a bathtub drain. The result may be the severe damage to brain cells seen in Alzheimer's patients.

The course of Alzheimer's disease is different in every patient (see "Warning Signs of Alzheimer's," page S9), but the most common initial symptom is a gradual decline in short-term memory. This occurs because of a disruption of brain cell function in the region known as the hippocampus, which houses the networks responsible for the recall of new learning. As the disease progresses, cognitive and functional abilities also begin to decline. Those people in the final stages of the disease may become unable to communicate, use the bathroom or recognize the faces of loved ones.

Although Alzheimer's is most often associated with the elderly, about 5% of all cases occur in individuals under age 65. Many of these are the result of genetic predispositions. Such may be the case with Jim Garner, a retired military radar technologist from Newport News, Va. Jim, 50, was diagnosed with Alzheimer's in 2010. His brother recently died of the disease at 52, and his mother succumbed after being diagnosed at age 48.

Jim's chief caretaker is his wife, Karen, who has full responsibility for her husband and their children, 8-year-old Bradley and 11-year-old Frances. "Jim had always been a very hands-on father before the Alzheimer's diagnosis," says Karen. "When the children were young, he was up in the middle of the night changing diapers. Since they've become older, he's coached their sports

teams. Now, he's starting to become more like a kid himself."

## DAY-TO-DAY DECLINE

Like many caregivers, Karen has seen the disease exact a financial, physical and emotional toll on the family. Since Jim stopped working, the family has relied solely on Karen's income from her job at a nonprofit. Even more distressing has been watching the day-to-day deterioration of Jim's cognitive abilities. "I'm always thinking, Will he remember to pick the kids up at school today?" says Karen. "Will he be able to respond appropriately when one of them brings home a 100% on a school paper?"

On top of that, there are the more troubling, middle-of-the-night worries—those focusing on the great unknowns in the family's future. Will Karen always be able to care for her husband at home? Will the children inherit their father's disease? "When you have cancer the doctors say, 'We're going to try

**\$200  
# BILLION**

**THE COST OF  
ALZHEIMER'S  
TO AMERICAN  
SOCIETY IN  
2012**





chemotherapy or radiation,' or 'We have a new drug that's promising.' When you're dealing with Alzheimer's, you're given absolutely no hope."

Alzheimer's causes financial crises as well. Take the case of Rich and Ginger Linehan, who operated a small office-and-party supply business in Ossining, N.Y. Once energetic and efficient, Rich began to misplace paperwork, forget the names of products that patrons commonly requested and lose customer checks instead of depositing them. After he was diagnosed two years ago, the couple's insurance premiums soared from \$1,200 to \$2,400 a month. The policy didn't cover all the tests Rich needed, which meant the Linehans had to pay thousands of dollars in out-of-pocket medical expenses. Their plans for the future took a sobering turn. "The business was going to supply our retirement money," says Ginger, "but Alzheimer's changed all that."

Authors of the National Plan to Address Alzheimer's Disease are confident that they can one day alleviate the sense of hopelessness that families like the Garners and the Linehans endure. The plan includes a nationwide public awareness campaign, and the President proposed \$80 million in additional funding for Alzheimer's research next year. It also provides for a network of geriatric education centers, a better system of assessing caregiver needs and an infusion of \$10.5 million to support family caregivers.

## FORMULATING PLANS

The National Institutes of Health held an international research conference in May to begin formulating plans for meeting the 2025 deadline. Robert Egge, vice president of public policy at the Alzheimer's Association, describes the plan as "one of the quiet bipartisan success stories of our time. For the first time, we have the mechanism to ask systematic questions about how to deal with Alzheimer's in a comprehensive way."

But advocates for Alzheimer's patients say the plan is only the first step. If Alzheimer's is to match the treatment successes that heart disease, cancer and other chronic illnesses have achieved,

more money and more research are crucial. Says Carrillo: "We can turn this boat around, but to do it we need to commit resources to Alzheimer's disease in the same way we have to other chronic diseases."

To that end, the Pharmaceutical Research and Manufacturers of America (PhRMA) recently launched the Research and Hope Award, an annual awards program designed to honor patient advocates and industry and academic researchers who are working toward a treatment or cure. "The awardees are good examples of how the entire medical innovation and patient

care ecosystem are working together to combat this disease," says PhRMA president and CEO John J. Castelli.

One of the initial award recipients, Dr. David Holtzman, chairman of the Department of Neurology at Washington University School of Medicine in St. Louis, Mo., has more than an academic interest in the disease. His father, Allan Holtzman, died of Alzheimer's two years

**16**  
MILLION  
THE NUMBER  
OF PEOPLE  
ESTIMATED  
TO HAVE  
ALZHEIMER'S  
BY 2050

if you care for someone with this disease,  
you'll also care about this special offer.



for the patient:  
A 30-DAY FREE  
TRIAL OFFER OF  
**EXELON<sup>®</sup> PATCH**

for the caregiver:  
ACCESS TO  
SPECIALLY TRAINED  
**NURSES**

**ExelonPatchOffer19.com**  
or call us at **1-855-999-3499**

**A DIFFERENT APPROACH TO TREATMENT AND SUPPORT  
FOR MILD TO MODERATE ALZHEIMER'S DISEASE**

A loved one with this disease needs medication. A caregiver needs support. The makers of Exelon<sup>®</sup> Patch offer both. A free 30-day trial offer of Exelon Patch for your loved one. And for you, access to Care to Care, a program designed for caregivers by caregivers. Care to Care includes one-on-one, personalized support from nurses who know mild to moderate Alzheimer's disease. It's all available once your loved one is prescribed Exelon Patch, the patch that releases medication continuously for 24 hours. Ask the doctor if it's right for your loved one.

The caregiver and patient shown here are real and have been compensated for their time.

## INDICATIONS

EXELON® PATCH (rivastigmine transdermal system) 4.6 mg/24 hours and 9.5 mg/24 hours is a prescription medicine used to treat mild to moderate memory problems (dementia) associated with Alzheimer's disease.

EXELON PATCH is also used to treat people with mild to moderate memory problems (dementia) associated with Parkinson's disease.

## IMPORTANT SAFETY INFORMATION

EXELON PATCH should not be used if the patient is allergic to any component in EXELON PATCH including the active ingredient rivastigmine, or has had an allergic reaction to a similar type of medicine. There have been some cases of skin reactions (e.g., rash, itchiness, and hives) that extend beyond the site of patch application. Speak to the doctor before using EXELON PATCH.

Mistakes in using EXELON PATCH have resulted in serious side effects; some cases have required hospitalization, and rarely, led to death. Most mistakes have involved not removing the old patch when putting on a new one and the use of multiple patches at one time. Only one EXELON PATCH should be worn at a time. If you accidentally apply more than one EXELON PATCH, remove all of them and inform the doctor immediately.

EXELON PATCH can cause gastrointestinal adverse reactions, including significant nausea, vomiting, diarrhea, decreased appetite, and weight loss. Dehydration may result from prolonged vomiting or diarrhea and can be associated with serious outcomes. The incidence and severity of these reactions are dose related. For this reason, treatment should be initiated with EXELON PATCH at a dose of 4.6 mg/24 hours and titrated to a dose of 9.5 mg/24 hours, if appropriate. If you have not taken EXELON PATCH for more than 3 days, do not start taking it again until you have talked to a doctor.

The most common side effects with EXELON PATCH 9.5 mg/24 hours were nausea, vomiting, and diarrhea.

Weight should be checked while the person is using EXELON PATCH. Weight loss/loss of appetite may occur. People below 50 kg (110 lbs) may experience more side effects and may have to stop using EXELON PATCH due to these side effects.

People at risk for stomach ulcers or who take certain medicines should tell their doctor before starting EXELON PATCH, because serious stomach problems such as bleeding may occur. EXELON PATCH may cause fainting or slow heart rate; people with certain heart conditions should tell their doctor before starting therapy. People with serious lung conditions and difficulty breathing, bladder problems, or seizures should consult their doctor before using EXELON PATCH. Extraparasympathetic symptoms

(e.g., uncontrollable facial or body movements, including tremor, restlessness) could occur or get worse. Parkinsonian symptoms, particularly tremor, have worsened in Parkinson's disease dementia patients treated with EXELON (rivastigmine tartrate) capsules. People on EXELON PATCH who feel dizzy or drowsy should not drive or use machines.

Tell the doctor about all other prescription or nonprescription medicines the patient is taking. EXELON PATCH should not be taken at the same time with other medicines that have a similar effect on the body and the brain (cholinergic agents) or with anticholinergic medicines. Inform the doctor

if the patient needs surgery requiring anesthesia while using EXELON PATCH.

You are encouraged to report negative side effects of prescription drugs to the FDA. Visit [www.fda.gov/medwatch](http://www.fda.gov/medwatch), or call 1-800-FDA-1088.

Novartis is proud to offer Patient Assistance Now, an easy-to-use, comprehensive resource that allows you to access programs that may help you pay for your Novartis medicines.

Please see brief summary of Important Product Information on adjacent page.



**EXELON® PATCH**  
(rivastigmine transdermal system)

for the treatment of mild to  
moderate alzheimer's disease



**EXELON PATCH IS FOR SKIN USE ONLY.**

Read this Patient Information leaflet before you start using Exelon Patch and each time you get a refill. There may be new information. This information does not take the place of talking to your healthcare provider about your medical condition or your treatment. If you do not understand the information, or have any questions about Exelon Patch, talk with your healthcare provider or pharmacist.

Exelon Patch is available in 3 dosage strengths:

- 4.6 mg per day (4.6 mg/24 hours)
- 9.5 mg per day (9.5 mg/24 hours)
- 13.3 mg per day (13.3 mg/24 hours)

**WHAT IS EXELON PATCH?**

Exelon Patch is a prescription medicine used to treat:

- mild to moderate memory problems (dementia) associated with Alzheimer's disease.
- mild to moderate memory problems (dementia) associated with Parkinson's disease.

It is not known if Exelon Patch is safe or effective in children.

**WHO SHOULD NOT USE EXELON PATCH?**

Do not use Exelon Patch if you are allergic to rivastigmine, carbamate derivatives, or any of the ingredients in Exelon Patch. See the end of this leaflet for a complete list of ingredients in Exelon Patch.

Ask your healthcare provider if you are not sure.

**WHAT SHOULD I TELL MY HEALTHCARE PROVIDER BEFORE USING EXELON PATCH?**

Before you use Exelon Patch, tell your healthcare provider if you:

- have or ever had a stomach ulcer
- are planning to have surgery
- have or ever had problems with your heart
- have problems passing urine
- have or ever had seizures
- have problems with movement (tremors)
- have asthma or breathing problems
- have a loss of appetite or are losing weight
- are pregnant or plan to become pregnant. It is not known if Exelon Patch will harm your unborn baby. Talk to your healthcare provider if you are pregnant or plan to become pregnant.
- are breastfeeding or plan to breastfeed. It is not known if Exelon Patch passes into your breast milk. Talk to your healthcare provider about the best way to feed your baby if you use Exelon Patch.
- Tell your healthcare provider about all the medicines you take, including prescription and non-prescription medicines, vitamins, and herbal supplements.

Especially tell your healthcare provider if you take:

- a medicine used to treat inflammation (nonsteroidal anti-inflammatory drugs)
- other medicines used to treat Alzheimer's or Parkinson's disease
- an anticholinergic medicine, such as an allergy or cold medicine, a medicine to treat bladder or bowel spasms, or certain asthma medicines, or certain medicines to prevent motion or travel sickness

**WHAT SHOULD I TELL MY HEALTHCARE PROVIDER BEFORE USING EXELON PATCH? (continued)**

Ask your healthcare provider if you are not sure if your medicine is one listed above. Know the medicines you take. Keep a list of them to show to your healthcare provider and pharmacist when you get a new medicine.

**HOW SHOULD I USE EXELON PATCH?**

Use Exelon Patch exactly as your healthcare provider tells you to use it.

- Your healthcare provider may change your dose as needed.
- Wear only 1 Exelon Patch at a time.
- Exelon Patch is for skin use only.
- Apply Exelon Patch to clean, dry, hairless, intact skin.
- Avoid applying Exelon Patch to areas on your body that will be rubbed against tight clothing.
- Do not apply Exelon Patch to skin that is red, irritated, or has cuts.
- Do not apply Exelon Patch to skin that has cream, lotion, or powder on it.
- Change your Exelon Patch every 24 hours at the same time of day. You may write the date and time you put on the Exelon Patch with a ballpoint pen before applying the patch to help you remember when to remove it.
- Change your application site every day to avoid skin irritation. You can use the same area, but do not use the same spot for at least 14 days after your last application.

- Check to see if the patch is loosened when engaging in activities such as bathing, swimming, or showering.
- If your Exelon Patch falls off, put on another patch right away and then replace the new patch the next day at the same time as usual. Do not use overlays, bandages, or tape to secure patches that have loosened or reapply patches that have fallen off.
- If you miss a dose or forget to change your Exelon Patch apply your next Exelon Patch as soon as you remember. Do not apply 2 Exelon Patches to make up for the missed dose.
- If you miss more than three days of applying Exelon Patch, call your healthcare provider before putting on another patch.
- You must remove Exelon Patch from the previous day before applying a new one.
- Having more than one patch on your body at the same time can cause you to get too much Exelon. If you accidentally use more than one Exelon Patch at a time call your healthcare provider. If you are unable to reach your healthcare provider, contact your local Poison Control Center or go to the nearest hospital emergency room right away.

**WHAT SHOULD I AVOID WHILE USING THE EXELON PATCH?**

- Do not touch your eyes after you touch the Exelon Patch.
- Exelon Patch can cause drowsiness, dizziness, weakness, or fainting. Do not operate heavy machinery, or do other dangerous activities until you know how Exelon Patch affects you.

**WHAT SHOULD I AVOID WHILE USING THE EXELON PATCH? (continued)**

- Avoid exposure to external heat sources such as excessive sunlight, saunas, or solariums for long periods of time.

**WHAT ARE THE POSSIBLE SIDE EFFECTS OF EXELON PATCH?**

Exelon Patch may cause serious side effects including:

- Stomach or bowel (intestinal) problems, including:
    - nausea • dehydration • vomiting • loss of appetite • diarrhea • weight loss • bleeding in your stomach (ulcers)
  - heart problems
  - seizures
  - problems with movement (tremors)
- The most common side effects of Exelon Patch include:
- depression • urinary tract infections • headache • muscle weakness • anxiety • tiredness • dizziness • trouble sleeping • stomach pain

Tell your healthcare provider if you have any side effect that bothers you or that does not go away. These are not all the possible side effects of Exelon Patch. For more information, ask your healthcare provider or pharmacist.

Call your doctor for medical advice about side effects. You may report side effects to the FDA at 1-800-FDA-1088.

**HOW SHOULD I STORE EXELON PATCH?**

- Store Exelon Patch at 59°F to 86°F (15°C to 30°C).
  - Keep Exelon Patch in the sealed pouch until ready to use.
- Keep Exelon Patch and all medicines out of the reach of children.

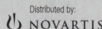
**GENERAL INFORMATION ABOUT THE SAFE AND EFFECTIVE USE OF EXELON PATCH.**

Medicines are sometimes prescribed for purposes other than those listed in the Patient Information leaflet. Do not use Exelon Patch for a condition for which it was not prescribed. Do not give Exelon Patch to other people, even if they have the same symptoms you have. It may harm them.

This Patient Information leaflet summarizes the most important information about Exelon Patch. If you would like more information, talk with your healthcare provider. You can ask your pharmacist or healthcare provider for information about Exelon Patch that is written for health professionals.

**WHAT ARE THE INGREDIENTS OF EXELON PATCH?**

Active ingredient: rivastigmine



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ago at age 81. "I watched the whole process, from the beginning," he says. "For the first four years, I saw only very subtle changes in his ability to process information. He was able to continue working. But it was a typical course. He lived 10 years after the disease was diagnosed."

Holtzman is investigating protein metabolism in the brain, particularly of those proteins that are important in Alzheimer's disease. Normally, most proteins are soluble, are produced and cleared at equal rates and don't stick to themselves and clump together, he says. However, when the proteins aggregate, as they do in Alzheimer's patients, they build up in toxic forms and damage the nerve cell connections. Ultimately, cells begin to die.

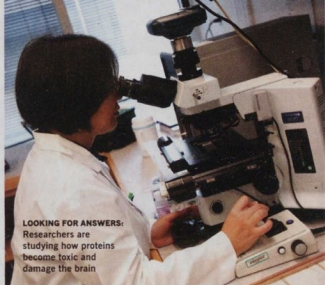
His lab is also studying a possible link between sleep abnormalities and Alzheimer's. Preliminary findings showed that mice with Alzheimer's plaques experienced sleep difficulties when the plaques were first forming. When plaque formation is prevented, the mice do not develop the sleep problems. "I don't think we are going to answer all the questions about Alzheimer's disease in the next year or two, but now there really is some hope in sight," says Holtzman.

## LOOKING FOR BREAKTHROUGHS

The many clinical trials now emerging involve a variety of treatment approaches, including many aimed at symptomatic relief. This fall, the U.S. Food and Drug Administration approved a new, higher-dosage form of rivastigmine, a type of drug known as a cholinesterase inhibitor.

First introduced in the late 1990s, cholinesterase inhibitors are designed to increase levels of acetylcholine, a chemical messenger involved in memory. In clinical trials, rivastigmine administered in the form of a transdermal patch at a dosage of 13.3 milligrams was shown to increase memory and day-to-day functioning in Alzheimer's patients better than the previous, lower-dosage form.

The drug, a Novartis product called Exelon Patch, was tested in an interna-



**LOOKING FOR ANSWERS:** Researchers are studying how proteins become toxic and damage the brain

tional clinical trial that concluded this summer. Dr. Jeff Cummings, director of the Cleveland Clinic Lou Ruvo Center for Brain Health, who led the trial, says patients on the medication showed an increased ability to engage in reading, finding personal belongings and keeping appointments.

Although these may sound like subtle improvements, says Cummings, "they are very important when you're talking about a disease that erodes all these abilities." Cummings calls clinical trials such as the rivastigmine study "a very important part of developing new treatments for Alzheimer's disease. This is where patients become the allies of the doctors and scientists in the search for a cure."

To aid patients in joining clinical trials, the Alzheimer's Association has launched TrialMatch ([www.alz.org/trialmatch](http://www.alz.org/trialmatch)), a free service that makes it easy for people with Alzheimer's and their caregivers, families and physicians to locate clinical trials based on their individual diagnosis, stage of disease and location.


Gordon Broom had been part of a three-year clinical trial for a medication that diminished his symptoms, but the trial failed. He hopes to be matched with a new trial early next year. In the meantime, he and his partner, Larry Jordan, have immersed themselves in activities at their church, and earlier this year they took their first cruise. "We were able to have fun and enjoy ourselves," Broom says. Most important, he is continuing his efforts with the Alzheimer's Association to spread the word about resources available to patients and caregivers. Until a cure is found, he says, "we want to let people know that there are support systems out there for them." ●

# 10 WARNING SIGNS OF ALZHEIMER'S DISEASE

The Alzheimer's Association has developed a list of the common warning signs of Alzheimer's disease. They include:

- 1. Memory loss that disrupts daily life**
- 2. Challenges in planning or solving problems**
- 3. Difficulty completing familiar tasks**
- 4. Confusion as to time and place**
- 5. Trouble understanding visual images and spatial relationships**
- 6. New problems with words in speaking or writing**
- 7. Misplacing things and losing the ability to retrace steps**
- 8. Decreased or poor judgment**
- 9. Withdrawal from work or social activities**
- 10. Changes in mood and personality**

If you or someone you know is experiencing these symptoms, consult a doctor. For more information on Alzheimer's disease, visit [alz.org](http://alz.org)



Part 4:

# What Comes Next



*To the right GOP voters and  
fundors are not looking for  
compromise, so party leaders  
aren't likely to either*

**Photographs by  
Christopher Morris  
for TIME**

ROMNEY  
RYAN

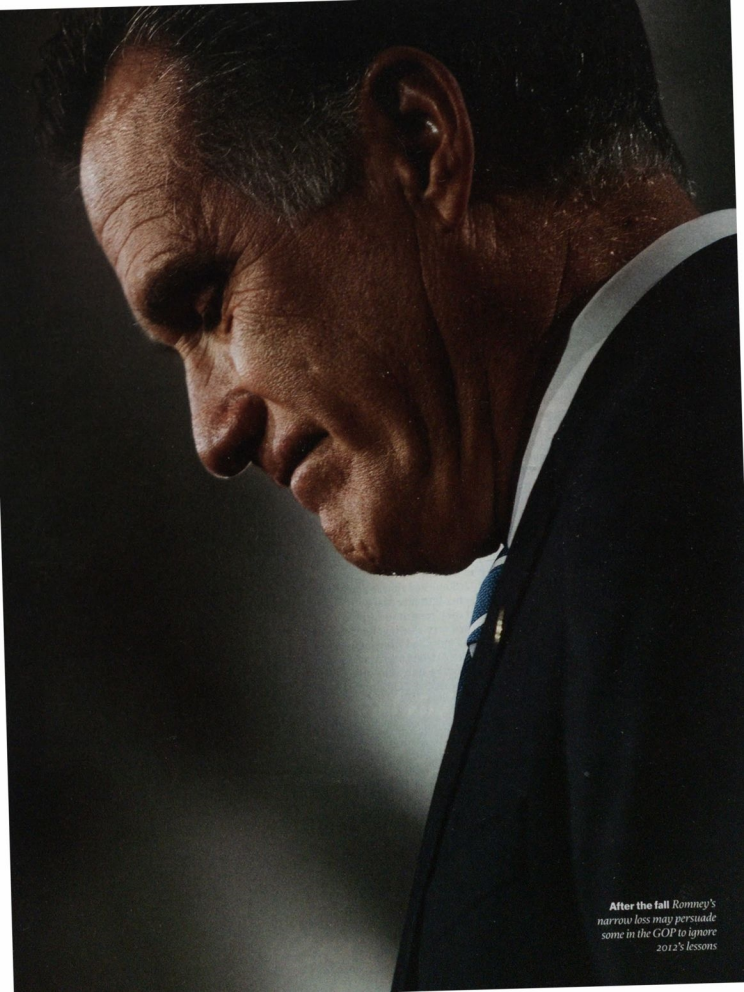
Robert ★ Cole

# Why the GOP Will Double Down on A Losing Strategy

By Michael Grunwald

Photograph by Christopher Morris for TIME





**After the fall** Romney's  
narrow loss may persuade  
some in the GOP to ignore  
2012's lessons

THE THING ABOUT AN ETCH A SKETCH is that the picture never looks real. Mitt Romney's attempt to draw one self-portrait for the Republican primaries and a different one for the general election left voters unconvinced that he knew who he was. So how could they?

Republican primaries have become Tea Party litmus tests, forcing candidates to audition for a lily-white, antiurban base that feels like Archie Bunker and Ward Cleaver in an era of *Modern Family* and *Dora the Explorer*. Romney, who governed Massachusetts as a centrist, had to spright right to prove his "severely conservative" bona fides against primary rivals like Rick Perry and Michele Bachmann, giving President Obama general-election ammunition on issues like immigration, taxes, energy and popular spending programs like FEMA. Meanwhile, for the second straight election cycle, the GOP missed a chance to seize control of the Senate when no-compromise Tea Partiers like Todd Akin in Missouri and Richard Mourdock in Indiana beat more electable candidates in their primaries.

Now it's recrimination time. After the historic GOP congressional wave in 2010, many Republicans were sure Obama was destined for defeat in 2012. An incumbent who had presided over four years of high unemployment—and whose overwhelming unpopularity was discussed as an immutable fact on Fox News and talk radio—seemed ripe for the picking. His re-election has some party leaders worried that the GOP is out of step with demographic and ideological trends, preaching to a shrinking choir. They do not want to be what Congressman turned TV host Joe Scarborough has despairingly called "the stupid party," with retro in-the-bubble ideas about rape, contraception and "self-deportation" that alienate a modern multicultural electorate.

But for all the punditry about a coming Republican civil war, it's not clear that the party really wants to change in any serious way—or that it could change if it wanted to. Even GOP elites, while concerned that winnable races are being sacrificed on the altar of extremism, suggest that the party is likely to stay the course that worked in 2010. Congressman Tom Cole of Oklahoma, a former Republican political consultant, has been a consistent

voice for pragmatism over purity inside the party, but he doesn't foresee any radical shifts after Tuesday's split decision. "It's sobering that we're throwing away Senate seats. But I don't see a great schism," Cole says. "I see a very unified, very conservative party that's very alarmed about the growth of government. Who would be the generals in our great civil war?"

### Superglued to the Past

JUST ABOUT ALL REPUBLICANS ACKNOWLEDGE their party's demographic dilemma. The electorate keeps getting less white, less rural and less evangelical—in short, less traditionally Republican. Polls suggested that Obama was on track to receive more than 90% of the black vote and over two-thirds of the fast-growing Latino vote, while winning huge majorities among young voters, gays and single women. The homogeneity of the Republican conventioners who nominated Romney in Tampa was striking, especially compared with the Democratic diversity on display the next week in Charlotte. It's working for the GOP in the old Confederacy, but nobody thinks that's sustainable nationwide in the long term.

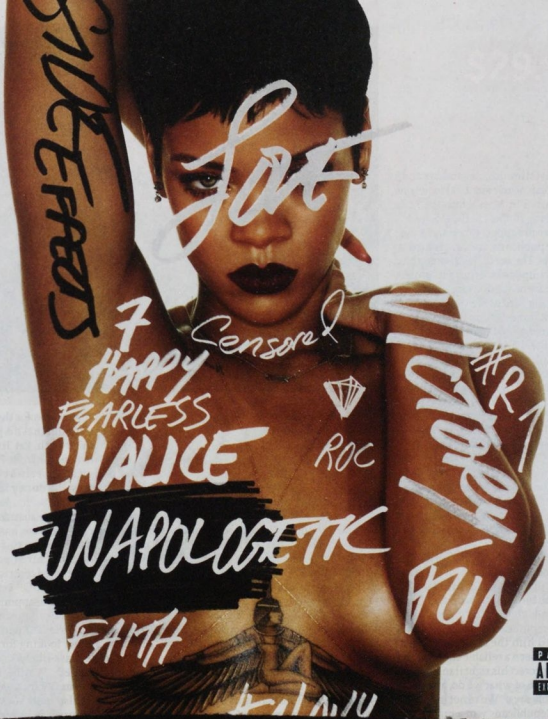
Some Republicans believe that the party needs to cut a deal with Obama on immigration reform so Latinos will stop seeing the party as a hostile force. New Mexico has morphed from swing state into blue state; Arizona may soon drift from red state to swing state. But others blame at least some of the GOP's problems with voters

of color on the unusual phenomenon of a President of color. They believe the party is gradually broadening its appeal, citing rising Hispanic stars like Governor Susana Martinez of New Mexico, Senator Marco Rubio of Florida and newly elected Senator Ted Cruz of Texas. Patrick McHenry, a North Carolina GOP Congressman, argues that his party doesn't need to change its policies to pander to minorities; it just needs to work harder to sell its policies to them. "Are we more diverse now? Yes. By leaps and bounds? No," he says. "We've got to reach out to a broader array of Americans. But we've still got to stay true to who we are and what we believe."

It's the "what we believe" part that could cause Republicans more problems down the road. In the Obama era, the GOP has coalesced around an agenda that in some ways simply denies reality, rejecting the science of climate change, insisting that government (except the Pentagon) is incapable of creating jobs, denouncing debt while proposing debt-exploding tax cuts. Some of its fire breathers argued last year that shutting down the federal government and even defaulting on its obligations could be good for the economy; more recently, its leaders suppressed a Congressional Research Service report questioning supply-side dogma. Former Utah governor Jon Huntsman, an accomplished fiscal conservative feared as a formidable potential opponent by Team Obama, may have doomed his primary chances with one tweet: "I believe in evolution and trust scientists on global warming. Call me crazy." Republican voters did, but then polls show most GOP regulars don't even believe Obama is a Christian, many doubt he is a native-born citizen, and few changed their mind after he released his birth certificate. In April 2011, the birther Donald Trump actually topped the Republican presidential-primary polls.

Some elements of the Republican agenda are standard for a center-right party: lower taxes, smaller government, less regulation. But in the Obama era, the GOP has pushed far beyond center right. In 2008 every Republican presidential candidate had an economic-stimulus plan—Romney's was the largest—and John McCain, the nominee, had a cap-and-trade plan for energy. By 2009 the GOP was

## Many in the GOP were sure Obama would lose. Now it's recrimination time



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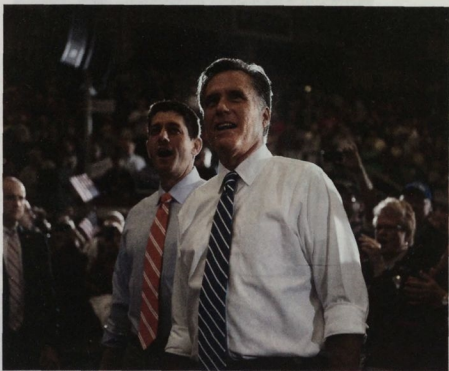
November 19th



united against stimulus, cap-and-tax and a health care plan nearly identical to the one Romney crafted in Massachusetts. Polls show increasing support in the U.S. for gay rights and broad support for clean energy, but most Republicans are superglued to the other side. The party has also doubled down on its unpopular efforts to protect Wall Street from regulation, eliminate funding for Big Bird and extend tax cuts for the rich. Romney's running mate, Paul Ryan, authored a bold plan to end Medicare's guarantees and shrink nondefense spending, but it was so politically toxic that the Romney campaign abandoned it, relentlessly attacking Obama for Medicare cuts that were part of Ryan's plan as well.

The GOP's moderate wing has been dwindling for years. Olympia Snowe's retirement and Scott Brown's defeat will leave Susan Collins as about the only Republican centrist in the Senate. And on Capitol Hill, even pragmatically inclined conservatives have been reluctant to compromise with Obama on anything, aware that even minor deviations could inspire the free-market Club for Growth to bankroll a Tea Party primary challenge like the ones that ended the careers of Senators Bob Bennett of Utah and Richard Lugar of Indiana. Club for Growth president Chris Chocola recalls that Utah's Orrin Hatch, who had a reputation as an ideological squish, called him the day after Bennett lost—and has been a reliable conservative ever since to protect his right flank. "Members take notice of what we do, and that's great," Chocola says. "We're not interested in helping Republicans win a majority so they can grow government a bit slower than the Democrats. We want to elect principled fiscal conservatives."

To party elites like lobbyist Ed Rogers, there's a fine line between principled fiscal conservatism, which he supports, and politically suicidal dogmatism, which leads to candidates like Akin and Mourdock. "We have an angry fist-shaking caucus that says losing with purity is better than winning with nuance, which is crazy," Rogers says. For four years, Republican politicians have portrayed Obama as a dangerous radical and fought him full time. It's going to be hard to cut deals with him to solve problems like the looming fiscal cliff without alienating Republi-



#### How to win by losing

*Ryan returns to Congress, where his voice will carry more weight than before*

can voters who believed what they said. "We're probably one e-mail away from Benghazi being an impeachable offense for much of our party," Rogers says. "I think that's nuts, but that's where we are right now."

There are already signs that the party of no intends to continue its strategy of no. Even before the election, House Speaker John Boehner warned that he'd have a mandate too and that Obama would poison the well by pursuing Democratic priorities in a second term. "Obama seems to think that we're going to have an epiphany and do what he wants us to do. That's not going to happen," says Cole, who is on the dealmaking side of the GOP divide. Rogers, another political pragmatist, is just as insistent that Republicans will not let Obama have his way. "You won't see any me-too-ism. None. Zero," he says. "Nothing about this election will diminish the right wing."

#### How Long Will It Take?

THE GOP RESPONSE TO HUGE LOSSES IN 2006 and 2008 was to move even further right. Many Republicans believe that President George W. Bush's problem was overspending and that McCain was too liberal as well. That strategy worked in 2010, and many conservatives think it could have worked again in 2012 if Romney had been

a credible spokesman for their principles. Chocola points out that his predecessor at the Club for Growth, Pat Toomey, is now a blue-state Senator from Pennsylvania. "There's a great power in a clear message," Chocola says. "Romney always had a sincerity problem."

As centrists have abandoned the GOP, the power of the base has gotten even stronger inside the party, further reducing the allure of centrist policies, which has further alienated centrists. It's a closed feedback loop, and GOP veterans do not expect Tuesday's disappointing but not catastrophic losses to break it before the next election cycle. The party's voters and funders are not looking for compromise, so its leaders are likely to double down on fossil-fueled, Wall Street-friendly obstructionism. Ryan, a devout supply-sider who is also more socially conservative than Romney, is likely to emerge as an even more central player in Congress and in the offstage struggle to lead the party; Rubio and Louisiana Governor Bobby Jindal have similar ideological profiles and ambitions. New Jersey Governor Chris Christie, who had won fans with his aggressive liberal-bashing despite some policy moderation, infuriated many in the party with his enthusiastic praise of Obama after Hurricane Sandy.

Of course, 2016 is ages from now. While there will surely be some intraparty sniping during the next few months, for now, Republicans seem likely to stick with their playbook and cater to their base. Even as that base gets older, angrier and less representative of America. ■



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# 2016: Let's Get The Party Started

Photographs by Marco Grob for TIME

## Hillary Clinton

SECRETARY OF STATE, FORMER NEW YORK SENATOR, DEMOCRAT

AGE IN FOUR YEARS ► 69

**ICONOGRAPHY** ► From Wellesley superstar to Watergate staffer, corporate lawyer to First Lady, Senator to Secretary of State, Clinton has raised redemption and reinvention to an art form. **OPPORTUNITY** ► Her sure-footed performance as the U.S.'s top diplomat, combined with her husband's unstinting efforts on President Obama's behalf, have made the Clintons the undisputed titans of the party. She has said she will retire from State if Obama wins a second term. **ODDS** ► If she runs, she will instantly become the prohibitive front runner.



**Julián Castro**

SAN ANTONIO MAYOR, DEMOCRAT

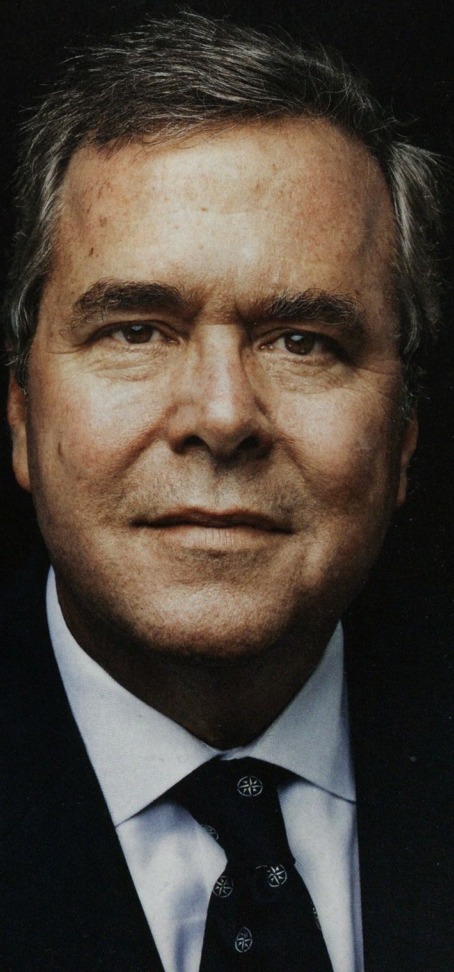
**AGE IN FOUR YEARS ▶ 42**

**FAST TRACK ▶** Raised by a politically active single mother, Castro emerged from Stanford and Harvard Law to become the youngest city councillor in San Antonio history at 26 then, in 2009, the youngest mayor of a top U.S. city. **DOUBLE**

**TEAM ▶** In Charlotte, Castro, whose identical twin brother is running for Congress, became the first Latino to deliver a keynote speech at the Democratic National Convention, inviting comparison to Obama's breakout moment at the 2004 convention. **SOUND BITE ▶** "We all

understand that freedom isn't free ... Neither is opportunity. We have to invest in it."





### Jeb Bush

FORMER FLORIDA GOVERNOR,  
REPUBLICAN

**AGE IN FOUR YEARS** ▶ 63

**PEDIGREE** ▶ He was the Bush scion expected to ascend to the nation's highest office, until his brother got there first. A popular two-term governor, he oversaw job growth and reforms to Florida's education and Medicaid systems.

**MODERATION** ▶ Bush, whose wife is from Mexico, has urged the GOP to adopt a more inclusive tone as the nation's demographics shift. His views on education, immigration and the environment have made him the dream date of the moderate wing of the party.

**HELP—OR HANDICAP** ▶ A very familiar last name.



**Condoleezza Rice**

FORMER SECRETARY OF STATE,  
REPUBLICAN

**AGE IN FOUR YEARS ▶ 61**  
**ODYSSEY ▶** Descended from sharecroppers, she grew up in the segregated South to become an accomplished pianist, scholar, Stanford provost and, in 2001, National Security Adviser. **INNER CIRCLE ▶** As Secretary of State during George W. Bush's second term, she favored a more multilateral approach than Administration hawks did. **PROSPECTS ▶** With her experience abroad and her moderate views at home, Rice might bring centrist voters back to the GOP—if she can survive its litmus-test primaries.

## Joe Biden

VICE PRESIDENT, FORMER  
DELAWARE SENATOR, DEMOCRAT

### AGE IN FOUR YEARS ► 73

**TRAGEDY** ► Six weeks after his election to the Senate in 1972, when Biden was 29, his wife and infant daughter died in a car wreck; he took his oath of office in a Delaware hospital.

**TRIUMPH** ► He went on to serve six terms in the Senate and ran for President twice before Obama tapped him as his running mate in 2008. Biden has been a top White House liaison to both Capitol Hill and Rust Belt Catholics and coined the campaign's rallying cry "Osama bin Laden is dead, and General Motors is alive!"

**TRADEMARK** ► Candid to a fault, Biden has a gift of gab and gaffe that makes him the most verbally unpredictable candidate in the field.



**Andrew Cuomo**

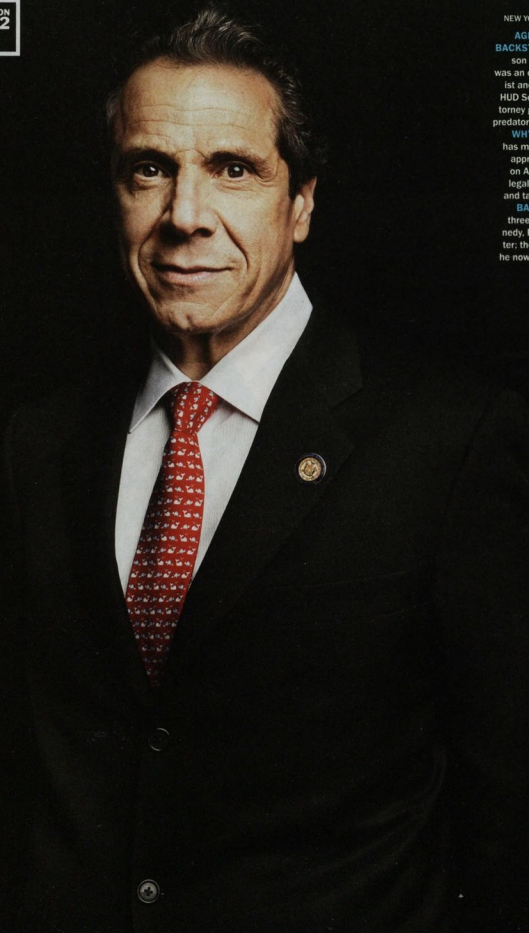
NEW YORK GOVERNOR, DEMOCRAT

**AGE IN FOUR YEARS ▶ 58**

**BACKSTORY ▶** The rough-hewn son of a Democratic icon, he was an outspoken housing activist and eventually Bill Clinton's HUD Secretary. As New York attorney general, Cuomo targeted predatory student-loan practices.

**WHY HIM ▶** As governor, he has managed to maintain high approval ratings while taking on Albany's special interests, legalizing same-sex marriage and taming the state's budget.

**BACKSTAGE ▶** Cuomo has three children with Kerry Kennedy, Robert Kennedy's daughter; they divorced in 2005, and he now lives with Food Network maven Sandra Lee.







## Chris Christie

NEW JERSEY GOVERNOR,  
REPUBLICAN

**AGE IN FOUR YEARS** ▶ 54

**CAREER ARC** ▶ He was appointed U.S. Attorney for his home state by George W. Bush, then became a GOP star after winning the governorship in 2009. **STRONG SUIT** ▶ Straight talk. His Jersey swagger and YouTube-friendly run-ins with public-employee unions had supporters begging him to run for President last year. He endorsed Mitt Romney but added some bipartisan gloss by praising President Obama after Hurricane Sandy. **AT HOME** ▶ Christie spurned the governor's mansion to keep his family in their suburban home.

## Marco Rubio

FLORIDA SENATOR, REPUBLICAN

**AGE IN FOUR YEARS** ▶ 45

**STARTING POINT** ▶ Born in Miami to Cuban émigrés, Rubio was elected to the state house at 28. He stunned Sunshine State observers when he toppled Governor Charlie Crist in the 2010 Republican Senate primary. **JUGGLING**

**ACT** ▶ Rubio is popular among both Tea Partiers and the GOP establishment. His interest in immigration reform and other issues that matter to Hispanics could help him carve inroads in this increasingly Democratic bloc. **CHEERING**

**SECTION** ▶ His wife Jeanette was once a Miami Dolphins cheerleader. They have four kids.



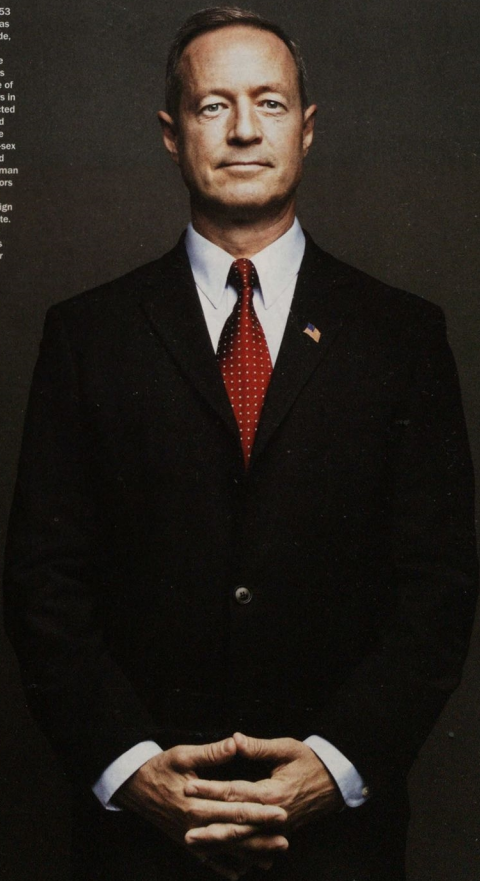
## Martin O'Malley

MARYLAND GOVERNOR, DEMOCRAT

**AGE IN FOUR YEARS ▶** 53

**THE CLIMB ▶** O'Malley has served as a Capitol Hill aide, city-council member and mayor of Baltimore, where his data-driven innovations led *TIME* to name him one of the top five big-city mayors in 2005. **THE CLAIM ▶** Elected governor in 2006, he dived into fights over high-profile national issues like same-sex marriage, immigration and deficit reduction. As chairman of the Democratic Governors Association, he has spent much of the 2012 campaign as a chief Obama surrogate.

**CREDITS ▶** O'Malley was a model for David Simon's cutthroat Baltimore mayor in *The Wire*.



ELECTION  
2012  
What's  
Next

## Bobby Jindal

LOUISIANA GOVERNOR, REPUBLICAN

**AGE IN FOUR YEARS** ▶ 45

**BACKSTORY** ▶ A Rhodes scholar and former McKinsey consultant, he served a stint in George W. Bush's Administration and was a member of the House before winning the governorship in 2007. **PARTY**

**PLEASED** ▶ Jindal is a fiscal conservative who opposes abortion and gay marriage. He's beloved by the GOP base and, as an Indian American, brings a dose of diversity.

**NAME GAME** ▶ His given name is Piyush; the nickname Bobby dates back to a childhood identification with that character on *The Brady Bunch*.





## Kirsten Gillibrand

NEW YORK SENATOR, DEMOCRAT


**AGE IN FOUR YEARS ▶ 49**

**STARTING POINT ▶** Raised by two lawyers, Gillibrand became one herself, then was elected to Congress. In 2009 she was appointed to the Senate seat vacated by Hillary Clinton.

**POSSIBLE HINT ▶** Gillibrand invited speculation about higher office when she spoke to an Iowa delegation at the Democratic Convention. But she has publicly urged Clinton to run and would almost certainly stay out of the race if she did. **GLOBAL**

**VIEW ▶** Gillibrand is fluent in Mandarin and studied in China.



A close-up portrait of Rahm Emanuel, a middle-aged man with graying hair, looking slightly to the left with a faint smile. He is wearing a dark pinstripe suit, a white shirt, and a blue patterned tie. A small American flag pin is visible on his lapel.

### Rahm Emanuel

CHICAGO MAYOR, DEMOCRAT

**AGE IN FOUR YEARS** ▶ 56

**BACKSTORY** ▶ Emanuel made his name as a shrewd, profane adviser in Bill Clinton's White House. After a brief but lucrative stint as an investment banker, Emanuel was elected to the House from Illinois, then returned to Washington as Obama's chief of staff. **ASSETS** ▶ Known as a hard-boiled pragmatist, Emanuel has experience navigating the two ends of Pennsylvania Avenue, plus a formidable fundraising network. **BOSS** ▶ Despite a slate of reforms, Emanuel's push to tame Chicago was beset by a bitter teachers' strike and a spiking murder rate.

## Nikki Haley

SOUTH CAROLINA GOVERNOR,  
REPUBLICAN

### AGE IN FOUR YEARS ▶ 44

**JOURNEY ▶** The daughter of Sikh immigrants from India, Haley, a converted Christian, endured racial slurs, allegations of marital infidelity, and hostility from some local Republicans but won friends in high places, including Sarah Palin, on her way to becoming the first female governor in South Carolina history—and the youngest in the country.

**MANDATE ▶** A Tea Party favorite, she has slashed Medicaid spending and signed a strict voter-ID law. **MISSION ▶** Despite her national profile, Haley says her focus is luring jobs to the Palmetto State.







# Joel Stein

## Voting with the 1%

FOR THE SEVEN YEARS I'VE LIVED IN L.A., I thought it was rustic and warm that I voted in the living room of the ranger's house in Griffith Park. Then I realized I didn't move to L.A. to be rustic and warm; I moved here to be rich and famous and not have to deal with people who are lowly park rangers.

That's when I found out that I live in the wrong part of L.A. In Bel Air, citizens in two precincts vote at the Luxe Sunset Boulevard Hotel, which provides free valet parking, hors d'oeuvres, wi-fi, election coverage on two flat-screen TVs and a voting butler. I made up the voting-butler part, but I'm sure if I ask for one, they'll provide it.

Since economic inequality was such a big theme of the campaign, I figured it was my responsibility to see how the 1% voted. Sure, the Founding Fathers created Election Day so all our voices would be equal, but I think those guys would have wanted to throw in a little something special for the white landowning males who live in Bel Air.

I got to the Luxe at 7:30 a.m. and handed over the keys to my Mini Cooper. Men in crisp suits directed me to the buffet, where I grabbed a cup of tea, a *pain au chocolat* and a glass of fresh-squeezed orange juice. There was no line to vote in the ballroom, where the hotel had hired real old people dressed in real old-people clothes to make the experience more Norman Rockwell. When I spoke to the actors, however, I discovered that they were actual old people who had volunteered. Inspector Len Harris, who wore a stylish fedora, was signing a letter to the hotel's management, asking it to host the next election. "I've worked mostly in churches or community centers," he said. "This is the best. None of the other places served a continental breakfast." Clerk Jan Honoré was equally impressed. "It's so wonderfully American for a place like this to share. I'm sure it's sound business, but it's also beautiful, beautiful patriotism," she said. After an

hour in Bel Air, I was no longer seeing how those could be different things.

I headed to the hotel's Election Media Room—or more accurately, the Joel Stein and for a Brief Time Some Freelance AP Photographer Room—to organize my meals. At noon, I ate from the to-go box of Chinese chicken salad and considered waiting for dinner when chef Olivier Rousselle, a Parisian wearing an American-flag pin, told me he was working on tuna tartare. You know what they get when they vote in France? Socialism.

Needing a break from all my eating,



**VIP ballot** There's voting, and then there's voting with hors d'oeuvres and Harrison Ford

I took a golf cart uphill to check out the hotel's sizable property. I considered getting a bio-organic facial at the spa—or at least finding out what any of those words meant—but was drawn back to the lobby for the smoked-salmon and cucumber finger sandwiches. Voters sat at tables just outside the hotel restaurant, eating their free lunch and talking about the election. Harrison Ford walked by with his I VOTED sticker, and I was proud to

live in a country where people who have played the President in action movies get special voting privileges.

I talked to Fallon James, a pretty architect who is somehow not a soap opera character, to find out if rich voters feel differently about free stuff than the rest of us. She was happy with her voting experience, but Dr. Eliot Siegel, who was wearing scrubs and yet was also not a soap opera character, said he missed the park where he used to vote. "I'm a Republican, but I believe in social equality," he said. "Wealthy people shouldn't do this. It's not a good way to present themselves." Though, it turned out, not as bad a way for wealthy people to present themselves as Mitt Romney.

Efrem Harkham, the owner of the hotel, said that he was just being neighborly and that a good neighbor offers his guests a drink. And in Bel Air, a neighbor has to step it up a bit. Mitt Romney might think the 47% are entitled, but no one expects free stuff as much as superrich people. If inequality in our country keeps growing, by 2016 the Luxe is going to have to give out free hotels on Park Place.

### On my way out, as I worried

about our country and ate a freshly baked cookie, I ran into Laura C. Medina, who lives in an apartment in nearby Brentwood. She had gone to the Luxe just to drop off her vote-by-mail ballot. "If people did this more often and treated you right instead of making you come to some grungy place and wait for hours in line, more people would come out to vote," she said. Medina told me her mom, who voted in Goose Creek, S.C., had such a miserable, non-Luxe experience, waiting three hours and getting yelled at, that she's considering never voting again.

After I left, I stopped by the polling place for the people who live in less expensive homes near my neighborhood: a McDonald's Play Place. Compared with the Luxe, there was no incentive to vote. No one parked my car, the view left a lot to be desired, and the bathroom urinals weren't lined with large, polished stones. Plus I drank a very disappointing peppermint mocha latte. Even worse, it wasn't free. ■



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